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Selections.

MR. ADAMS'S REPORT ON THE MASSACHUSETTS RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. Adams, from the select committee of nine, appointed on the 22d of December, last, on the Resolutions of the legislature of Massachusetts, in behalf of himself and Mr. Giddings, made the following

REPORT:

The subscribers, forming the minority of the select committee to which were referred the resolves of the legislature of Massachusetts of 23d of March, 1843, proposing to Congress to recommend, according to the provisions of the 5th article of the Constitution of the United States, an amendment to the said Constitution, have attended to the duty thus assigned to them by the House, with a deep sense of the importance of the subject, of the magnitude of the interests involved in its consideration, and of the dignity of the source from which the resolves, calling for the action of this House, have emanated.

Concurring in the opinion of the majority of the committee, so far as to believe that it is not, at this time, expedient to recommend the amendment to the Constitution proposed by the legislature of Massachusetts, they are compelled to dissent from the views and the reasons which have actuated the majority of the committee in coming to their conclusion.

The subscribers are under a deep and settled conviction that the provisions in the Constitution of the United States, as it has been, and is yet construed, and which the resolves of the legislature of Massachusetts propose to discard and erase therefrom, is repugnant to the first and vital principles of republican representation; to the self-evident truths contained in the Declaration of Independence; to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States itself; to the letter and spirit of the constitutions of almost all the States of the Union; to the liberties of the whole people of all the free States, and of all that portion of the people of the States where domestic slavery is established, other than the owners of slaves themselves; that this is its essential and unextinguishable character in principle, and that its fruits, in its practical operation upon the government of the land, as felt with daily increasing aggravation by the people, corresponds entirely with that character. To place these truths in the clearest light of demonstration, and beyond the reach of contradiction, the subscribers proceed in the order of these averments to adduce the facts and the arguments by which they will be maintained.

The first averment of the subscribers is, that the slave representation in this House, and in the colleges of electors for the election of President and Vice President of the United States, is repugnant to the first and vital principle of republican popular representation.

The principal of republican popular representation is, that the terms of representative and constituent are correlative; that there can be no representative without a constituent, and that the constituent can become such only by his own free will and choice; and hence it is that the universal suffrage becomes a fundamental doctrine of *democracy*. In a pure representative democracy there may, indeed, and must be qualifications for the exercise of the right of suffrage, resulting from the circumstances of age, and of intellectual sanity, which affect the freedom of the will, and therefore disable the individual for making a free choice; but *democracy* admits of no such qualification of property, and no such disability for the want of it.

In a free representative democracy, children under age cannot exercise the right of suffrage, for two reasons: 1st. because their will is subject to the control of their fathers or guardians; and 2dly, for the immaturity of their reason, incapable of exercising a deliberate choice. In a pure representative democracy, the insane, the vicious convicted of crime, the pauper subsisted at the charge of the community, may be excluded from voting, without impairing the right of universal suffrage; but democracy admits of no representation of property; and, accordingly, democracy has been defined by the distinguished historian of the United States, and one of the principal leaders of the democratic party of this Union, "*a government founded on persons, and not on property.*"

The second averment of the subscribers is, that the slave representation in this House, and in the electoral colleges, is repugnant to the self-evident truths contained in the Declaration of Independence.

These self-evident truths, it will be remembered, form at once the only justification of the people of the North American Union, for the revolution by which they absolved themselves from their allegiance to the British crown, and from their compatriotism with the people of the British empire, and for the foundation of their own *republican* union and form of government. They had all been, until the date of that declaration, the subject of a transatlantic monarchy—colonists, deriving all their lawful powers of government from separate charters granted by the British kings. In renouncing their allegiance to their sovereign, and announcing their separation from all national community with the British people, they formed with great solemnity, a national and confederative union among themselves, with mutual pledges of faith, that this union should be perpetual, republican in principle, and founded upon the purest theory of human rights—the natural equality of mankind.

Until that time the institution of domestic slavery in the most oppressive of its forms—that which transforms man, the immortal image of his Maker, into a chattel personal—had been permissively introduced, by royal and parliamentary concert, into all the British colonies, in flagrant violation of the fundamental laws of England—boastful of the principle that the soil of Albion will not bear the footprint of a slave.

The importation of slaves from Africa, prohibited in the mother country, was not only allowed in the colonies, but enforced by the sanction of the king and parliament. In the Declaration of Independence, this permissive importation of slaves was denounced as one of the aggravated crimes of George the Third; and in the original draft of that instrument, it was visited with retribution still more severe.

The moral foundation of the North American revolution, union, confederation, and governments, is laid down by the Declaration of Independence in the following words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that *to secure* these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter, or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

This was the only foundation upon which the North American revolution could be justified from the charge of treason and rebellion.

This was the only foundation upon which the union of the thirteen colonies was laid; the only foundation upon which, by their respective representatives, the people of the several colonies bound themselves, by mutual pledges to each other, that their union should be perpetual, and their governments all republican. Take away this foundation, and the revolution was a rebellion, the perpetual union an imposture, and the guaranty of republican governments, a compact without consideration, to be broken by any one of the parties, at any time, by any hurricane of transient interest, or any frenzy of popular passion.

Yet, when this declaration was issued, one-sixth part of the whole people by whom it was proclaimed, were held as slaves to about one-thirtieth part of the same people.

The inconsistency of the principle upon which they appealed to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of their intentions in casting off an oppressive yoke, for liberty and independence, with the practice of holding multitudes of their equal brother-men in cruel and hereditary bondage, was felt and acknowledged. The declaration charged upon the king the existence of slavery in the colonies. The author of the declaration had formed, years before, a project, which he cherished through a long life, for the total abolition of slavery throughout the Union; and it is to be presumed that all the delegates who affixed their names to the declaration, entertained the same purpose. Nothing less can bear them out in the responsibilities they assumed, by their appeal to the Ruler of the Universe.

If the fundamental principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, as self-evident truths, are real truths, the existence of slavery, in any form, is a wrong. No subterfuge of evasion, no ingenuity of sophism, can escape the conclusion, that if *all* men are created equal, and endowed with the unalienable rights enumerated in the declaration, to hold men, guilty of no offense themselves, in perpetual and hereditary bondage, is a transgression of the laws of nature, and of nature's God—a wrong which no subtlety can palliate, and no prescription can rectify.

When the declaration itself was issued, domestic slavery existed as a lawful institution in all the British American colonies; nor had it been judicially declared unlawful in the mother country herself, till within five years before. By the ancient laws and usages of nations, hereditary slavery had been universally held, the legitimate condition of nations vanquished in war, and of prisoners taken in battle. The Hebrew nation, from the time of their first founder, Abraham, till the advent of the Saviour, had held, and made slaves, and had, themselves, been slaves in Egypt and Assyria, in different ages; the condition of slavery being then, however, far less abject and oppressive than the negro slavery of modern times. Political servitude was the earthly condition of the Saviour of the world, himself; and on more than one occasion, he acknowledged his own subjection to the wordly dominion of the Romans, and to the payment of tribute to Cæsar. He issued to his disciples no positive prohibition of slavery; but he publicly announced in the temple his divine mission upon earth, by reading from the book of Isaiah the following prophecy:

"The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord has anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he has sent me to bind up the broken-hearted; *to proclaim liberty to the captives*, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

Here he stopped, closed the book, sat down and said, "This day is the scripture fulfilled in your ears."

There was no positive prohibition of slavery—that would have been to encounter the charge of treason against the Roman dominion;—but there was a proclamation of universal peace, and universal emancipation, called up from a prophecy of the Holy Scriptures, delivered seven hundred years before, and expressly declared by Jesus Christ to be fulfilled in him.

It is too well known that its fulfillment, as an improvement in the moral condition and character of man, is not yet consummated. Seven hundred years elapsed from the date of the prophecy, before Messiah came, the minister from God for the accomplishment of this blessed purpose. More than eighteen hundred years have passed away since it was thus solemnly proclaimed in the temple of Jerusalem, from the lips of the Messiah himself. Wars, and their attendant, slavery, have continued to be kindled among men, even among Christians themselves, and to be waged by that portion of mankind whose eyes and hearts have not been opened to the blessings of the gospel, with unabated fury.—Nor was the Saviour unaware that it was the destiny of his gospel itself often to be indebted for its progressive advancement to war. "I came not," said he, "to send peace on earth, but a sword;" meaning, not that this was the object of his mission, but that in the purposes of the divine nature, war itself should be made instrumental to promote the final consummation of universal peace. Slavery has not ceased upon earth; but the impression upon the human heart and mind, that slavery is a wrong—a crime against the laws of nature and of nature's God, has been deepening and widening, till it may be now pronounced universal upon every soul in Christendom, not warped by personal interest, or tainted with disbelief in Christianity. The owner of ten slaves believes that slavery is not an evil.—The owner of a hundred, believes it a blessing.—The philosophical infidel has no faith in Hebrew prophecies, or in the gospel of Jesus. He says in his heart, though he will not tell you to your face, that the proclamation of the natural equality of mankind in the Declaration of Independence, is untrue; that the African race are physically, morally, and intellectually *inferior* to the white European man; that they are not of one blood, nor descended from the same stock. That the African is born to be a slave, and the white man to be his master.—The worshipper of mammon, and the philosophical atheist, hold no communion with the signers of the declaration that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with unalienable rights.—But with these exceptions, poll the whole mass of Christian men, of every name, sect, or denomination, throughout the globe, and you will not hear a solitary voice deny that slavery is a wrong, a crime, and a curse.

The representation of slaves, therefore, *as persons*, conferred not upon them, but upon their owners, is repugnant to the self-evident truths proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence.

It is equally repugnant to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States, and to the State constitutions of almost every State in the Union. To the spirit—for the people of the United States, by whom their Constitution was ordained and established, declare in its preamble, that their great and transcendant purpose in that highest act of sovereignty is, to secure to themselves and their posterity *the blessings of liberty*. How glaringly inconsistent with that purpose is the infusion into the supreme legislative and executive authorities of the land, an overruling and controlling element of power exclusively bestowed upon one class of the wealthy, the owners of slaves, to the disfranchisement of the owners of all other property, and to the grinding oppression of the free poor, even in the States where the slaves are held.

To the spirit. The Constitution of the United States expressly prescribes that no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. The spirit of this interdict is not a rooted antipathy to the grant of mere powerless, empty *titles*, but to titles of *nobility*; to the institution of privileged orders of men. But what order of men, under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion?

To the letter. The Constitution of the United States, in express terms declares, that the House of Representatives shall be composed of members representing PERSONS. This phraseology excludes by direct implication, representation of property. The principle of pure democracy—a representation of persons, and not of property—is the vital element in the organization of the House of Representatives. No qualification of property is required for eligibility as a member of the House, or of any legislative, executive, or judicial office of the United States. Nor is there one word in the Constitution recognizing the right of property in persons. So far from this, that it has been maintained by plausible argument, that the words "all other persons" cannot, in fair construction, be understood to include slaves. The subscribers do not assent to that opinion; but they hold it more tenable than the doctrines recently assumed, and now pertinaciously affirmed, that the power of Congress, of exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, in all cases whatsoever, does not include the power of abolishing slavery.

The representation of slaves, therefore, in the Constitution of the United States, is, in its practical operation, doubly deceptive; bearing on its face the mask of representing *persons*, while, in fact, it is a representation of property; and bearing on its face the color of representing one class of persons, while the elective franchise, by which they are represented, is denied to themselves, and transferred to another class—a class with whom they are, by the laws of nature, in a state of perpetual, unextinguishable war. In outward show, it is a representation of persons in bondage; in fact, it is a representation of their masters—the oppressor representing the oppressed.

How inconsistent this is with the essential principle of popular representation, it were a waste of words to dwell upon. The relation between the representative and his constituent, on the true principle of democracy, is among the most sacred, the most confidential, the most intimate and endearing ties that can bind man to man. The representative is but a mirror, reflecting the feelings, the wishes, and above all, the interests of his constituent. The sympathies between them, as dictates of duty, are tender as those between husband and wife, unswerveable as those between the parent and child; a relation in which the pledge of honor and fidelity, as an impulse to action, is but superadded to the ligaments of the heart.

But what are the relations between the represented and the representative, in this provision of the Constitution of the United States, the purification from which is required by the twice-repeated resolves of the legislature of Massachusetts. The represented is the slave; the constituent is the master; and the representative, himself an owner of slaves, and personally deeply interested in the undisturbed possession of what he deems his *property*, is the mirror reflecting the wishes, the feelings, and interest, not of the *person* whom he represents, but of the constituent, his master; an impulse to action, sharpened by all the stimulants of sordid interest, of hatred, and of fear, in the bosom of the representative against the natural and unalienable rights of him whom he represents. Is it in the compass of human imagination to devise a more perfect exemplification of the art of committing the lamb to the tender custody of the wolf?

The *person* represented is the *slave;* the constituent is the master; and the representative, the mirror reflecting the wishes, feelings, and interest of the master against the unalienable rights of the slave, is further stimulated to action by the spur of his own private interest, identified with that of his constituent.

The representative is thus constituted, not the friend, agent, and trustee of the person whom he represents, but the most inveterate of his foes. The relations between them stamping the character of the representative's action, are not the relations of representative and constituent, but the relations between master and slave.

Of these relations, the subscribers, unwilling to give offense to their associate members from the slaveholding States, or to their constituents, might content themselves with the description of them by the author of the Declaration of Independence, one of the most eminent statesmen of his age—a slaveholder himself, and the acknowledged oracle of the democracy throughout this Union.

Extracts from Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

Under the mild treatment our slaves experience, and their wholesome though course food, this blot in our country increases as fast or faster than the whites. During the regal government, we had at one time obtained a law, which imposed such a duty on the importation of slaves as amounted nearly to a prohibition; when one considerate assembly, placed under a peculiarity of circumstance, repealed the law. This repeal met a joyful sanction from the then sovereign, and no devices, no expedients, which could ever after be attempted by subsequent assemblies, (and they seldom met without attempting them,) could succeed in getting the royal assent to a renewal of the duty. In the very first session held under the republican government, the assembly passed a law for the perpetual prohibition of the importation of slaves.

This will, in some measure, stop the increase of this great political and moral evil, while the minds of our citizens may be ripening for a complete emancipation of human nature.—*Jefferson's Notes, Query* 8, p. 124.

To emancipate all slaves born after passing the act. The bill reported by the revisors does not itself contain this proposition; but an amendment containing it was prepared to be offered to the legislature whenever the bill should be taken up, and further directing that they should continue with their parents to a certain age, then to be brought up, at the public expense, to tillage, arts, and sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age, when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper, sending them out with arms, implements of household, and of the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of useful domestic animals, &c.; to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection, till they have acquired strength; and to send vessels at the same time to other parts of the world for an equal number of white inhabitants; to induce whom to migrate hither, proper encouragements were to be proposed.—*Jefferson's Notes, Query* 14, p. 189.

There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patræ* of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born, to live and labor for another; in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute, as far as depends on his individual endeavors, to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry is also destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion, indeed, are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justness cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest. But it is impossible to be temperate, and to pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of history, natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way, I hope, preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation.—*Jefferson's Notes, Query* 18, p. 231.

Extracts from the Memoir of the Life of Thomas Jefferson, written by himself, in 1821, *at the age of* 77.

In 1769, I became a member of the legislature by the choice of the county in which I live, and so continued until it was closed by the revolution. I made one effort in that body for the permission of the emancipation of slaves, which was rejected; and, indeed, during the regal government, nothing liberal could expect success.—*Vol.* 1, p. 3.

[*On the revision of the laws of Virginia, in* 1779.]

The bill on the subject of slaves was a mere digest of the existing laws respecting them, without any intimation of a plan for a future and general emancipation. It was thought better that this should be kept back, and attempted only by way of amendment, whenever the bill should be brought on. The principles of the amendment, however, were agreed on, that is to say, the freedom of all born after a certain day, and deportation at a proper age. But it was found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degree, as the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up.—*Page* 39.

With this picture from the life, of the relations between the master and the slave, can it be necessary to add one word of comment on the monstrous perversion and mockery of the principle of popular representation it is, in the distribution of legislative and executive power, to clothe the master with the authority to represent his slave. If there be a parallel to it in human history, it can only be that of the Roman emperors, who, from the days when Julius Cæsar substituted a military despotism in the place of a republic, among the offices which they concentrated upon themselves, was that of tribune of the people. A Roman emperor, tribune of the people, is an exact parallel to that feature in the Constitution of the United States which makes the master the representative of the slave.

The slave representation in the Constitution of the United States is, therefore, repugnant to the rigid letter, and to the vivifying spirit of that Constitution itself. It is equally repugnant to the letter and spirit of almost every separate State of the Union; for liberty—the enjoyment and perpetuation of the blessings of liberty—is the professed and avowed object of all the State constitutions; even of those which interdict to their legislatures the power of abolishing slavery; and many of them repeat, in nearly the same words, the self-evident truths which the Declaration of Independence has proclaimed as the immovable and everlasting foundation of American freedom. The scorn and contempt which the friends of freedom in foreign lands are now awarding to a people who, with the words of the self-evident truths upon their lips, establish by their fundamental laws, perpetual, inextinguishable, hereditary slavery, as the condition of one-half, or one-third, or one-sixth, of themselves; and who, with more than Draconian blood-thirstiness, punish a man with death for aiding his fellow-man in the attempt to escape from slavery by flight; that scorn and contempt was not hastily awarded. The proclamation in the Declaration of Independence of the self-evident truths, as the only lawful foundation of all human government, was a sound *new* to the ears of civilized man throughout the globe; and he answered it with an universal shout of admiration and applause. It touched the most sensitive chords of sympathy in the human heart; it made tyrants tremble on their thrones, and enlisted the whole race of man, laboring under oppression, in the cause of the American people, and in their war for independence.

If the question was asked, as it was asked, how a people holding slaves could issue such a declaration? the answer of reason and friendship was, the declaration itself is the abolition of slavery; and if there be a doubt of that, it is a sacred pledge, in the name of God, that slavery shall be abolished as soon as it may be practicable to substitute the law of freedom in its place. So thought the people of Massachusetts—the constituents of those delegates who signed the declaration in their name. Three years after the declaration, they ordained and established a State constitution for themselves and their posterity. In the bill of rights which formed a part of that Constitution, they repeated the self-evident truths of the declaration, and shortly after, it was solemnly decided by the highest judicial tribunal of the State, that from that day forth, slavery had no existence in the State. In others of the northern States, the process of reason, though less summary, has been equally conclusive. In all the States reaching as far south as Pennsylvania, inclusive, slavery has been abolished by legislative enactment; and next to the Declaration of Independence itself, the most signal testimonial ever given to the eternal truth and justice of the self-evident principles, the natural equality of mankind, and the universality of human rights, was the ordinance for the government of the northwestern territory, in the very organization of which, by the Congress of the confederation, slavery and involuntary servitude were banished forever from the land. How are, then, nine States of the Union, covering a population of ten millions of souls, the people of which, each acting separately by their constitutions and laws, have borne solemn testimony of their estimate of the moral character of slavery, by abolishing it within their borders forever.—Here are four States and two territories, already mature for admission as States, and claiming that admission, organized at the first political inception by the Congress of the confederation, representing the whole Union, within which, and by that authority, the abolition of slavery and involuntary servitude was made the fundamental law of that whole territory forever.

The people of this whole Union, therefore, speaking as one man, harmonizing with the voices of the people of nine of the separate States, of which the Union is composed, have, by the most solemn constitutional and legislative enactments, pronounced slavery an evil and a curse, and have manifested their sense of sacred duty and their determined will, to extirpate it from within their borders forever.

The next averment of the subscribers is, that the slave representation in the House of Representatives, and the electoral colleges of this Union, is repugnant to the liberties of the whole people of all the free States, and of all that portion of the people of the States where domestic slavery is established, other than the owners of slaves themselves.

For the perfect elucidation of this averment, it will be necessary to state distinctly, what the slave representation introduced into the Constitution of the United States *is*, as a delegation of power, and what it has proved to be by its influence on the history of the Union, and the present condition of the people.

The House of Representatives of the United States consists of 223 members—all, by the *letter* of the Constitution, representatives only of *persons*, as 135 of them really are; but the other 88, equally representing the *persons* of their constituents, by whom they are elected, also represent, under the name of *other persons*, upward of two and a half millions of *slaves*, held as the *property* of less than half a million of the white constituents, and valued at twelve hundred millions of dollars. Each of these 88 members represents in fact the whole of that mass of associated wealth, and the persons and exclusive interests of its owners; all thus knit together, like the members of a moneyed corporation, with a capital, not of thirty-five, or forty, or fifty, but of twelve hundred millions of dollars, exhibiting the most extraordinary exemplification of the anti-republican tendencies of associated wealth that the world ever saw.

The property thus represented under the name of persons, is held not only by the violation of the rights of human nature in those persons, but in deadly hostility to all other property held in the community, and to the interests of its owners. The great mass of the slave population is held by the holders of land, and of course are exclusively confined to the rich. The proportion in numbers of the slaveholders to the free population owning no slaves, varies greatly in the several States, and in different parts of the same States. It is perfectly clear that every civil, and political privilege conferred upon the owners of slaves, is not only at war with the principles of equal liberty, but at war with the rights and interests of all the free citizens not holding slaves. It constitutes, in its most odious form, the division of the community into the two classes, of rich and poor, and bears on its face the most odious features of an *oligarchy*. In such a State, the slaveholders hold all the reins of power, and the whole mass of the free population, doomed to earn their subsistence by their labor, scarcely enjoy more freedom than the slaves themselves. In such a community, the first effort of the slave and landholders will be to engross all political power to themselves; and they will, in their form of government, confine the right of suffrage to freeholders. The constitutions and laws of all the slaveholding States of this Union bear in various degrees the impress of this character, and the slave representation in the Constitution of the United States, is the most stupendous of its achievements. It was effected by that cunning invention of confining the right of suffrage to what are called *federal numbers*. The right of suffrage is by this device not confined to the slaveholders, but is extended to all free white citizens assuming the mask of democracy. But the candidates for the suffrages of the people will all be of the slaveholding class, and the representative body, the *depository* of power, will all be of the same privileged caste.

By this process it is, that all political power in the States is absorbed and engrossed by the owners of *slaves*, and the overruling policy of the States is shaped to strengthen and consolidate their domination. The legislative, executive, and judicial authorities are all in their hands—the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of the black code of slavery—every law of the legislature becomes a link in the chain of the slave; every executive act, a rivet to his hapless fate; every judicial decision a perversion of the human intellect to the justification of *wrong*.

The governor of such a State will tell you, with a frown, that the institution of slavery is the cornerstone to the temple of liberty. The chancellor of such a State will decree that the self-evident truths are the *ornamental* parts of the Declaration of Independence.

It is by this same process, that this invention introduces into the House of Representatives of the United States, 88 members out of 223, representing ostensibly all the slaves, but really all the owners of slaves, and the whole mass of their property in slaves, estimated at twelve hundred millions of dollars. Here is one class of men, consisting of not more than one-fortieth part of the whole people, not more than one-thirtieth part of the free population, exclusively devoted to their personal interests identified with their own as slaveholders of the same associated wealth, and wielding by their votes, upon every question of government or of public policy, two-fifths of the whole power of the House. In the Senate of the Union, the proportion of slaveholding power is yet greater. By the influence of slavery in the States where the institution is tolerated, over their elections, no other than a slaveholder can rise to the distinction of obtaining a seat in the Senate; and thus, of the 52 members of the federal Senate, 26 are owners of slaves, and as effectively representatives of that interest, as the 88 members elected by them to the House.

Nor is the influence of slavery in the general government of the Union confined to the proportion of its members in the composition of either or of both houses of Congress. In the free States of the Union, as in all free countries, the people are always divided into two great parties, with few exceptions, always nearly equal, and with annual elections alternately controlling the legislation and policy of the State. In this condition the weaker party in the State allies itself with the slavery of the South, and forms the race of politicians so familiarly known under the denomination of northern men with southern principles.

The effect of this combination is to sacrifice the interest of the State, and the will of its people to the factious domination of a real minority, acquiring thereby a permanent control, which it exercises to suppress all representation, and even the voice of the real majority of the people.

Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is, to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of slavery, the vital and animating spirit of the national government.

This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call a government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. To call it an aristocracy, is to do injustice to that form of government. Aristocracy is the government of *the best*. Its standard qualification for accession to power *is merit*, ascertained by popular election, recurring at short intervals of time. If even that government is prone to degenerate into tyranny, what must be the character of that form of polity in which the standard qualification for access to power is wealth in the possession of slaves? It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the convention from the free States imagine to foresee what a sacrifice to moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession.

The subscribers believe that they have now proved it, in principle, repugnant to the first and vital principles of popular representation; to the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence; to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States, and of almost all the separate State constitutions; to the liberties of the whole people of all the free States, and of all that free portion of the people of the slave States, not owners of slaves themselves. It remains to inquire how far, in the history of this Union, in its present condition and its future prospects, the argument on the principle has been confirmed by the demonstration of facts.

It has been observed that, until the Declaration of Independence, domestic slavery existed in all the British colonies in North America; although, only four years before, the last vestage of it had been swept away, by the decision of Lord Mansfield, in the case of the negro, Somersett, from the island of Great Britain itself. That decision was one of the most memorable examples of a revolution, nothing less than emancipation from slavery to freedom, accomplished in the space of less than a quarter of a century, by the mere progress of public opinion against slavery. In 1749, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke had decreed that *trover* would lie for a West India negro slave in England. On the 22d of June, 1772, Lord Mansfield, with the unanimous concurrence of all the judges of the Court of King's Bench, upon the return of a writ of habeas corpus, pronounced the negro Somersett free, and ordered him to be discharged. The closing words of this sentence of awful solemnity, are as follows:

"The state of slavery is of such a nature that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons moral or political, but only by positive law, which preserves its force, long after the reasons, occasion, and time itself from whence it was created, is erased from the memory. It is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from the decision, I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England, and therefore the black must be discharged."

Observe, that between the decision of Lord Hardwicke, in 1749, and that of the Court of King's Bench, delivered by Lord Mansfield, in 1772, there had been no change in the statute law of Great Britain on the subject. The decision of Lord Hardwicke was reversed by the Court of King's Bench, upon a *moral* principle. It is because the institution is so odious that no custom, usage, prescription, or precedent, could be held to sanction it. The law of nature and of God, is the law of liberty; and that it should have been prostrated and trampled upon by the law of man, can never be allowed but upon the production of the record written in blood. And the same righteous decision was given by the court of session, in Scotland, in the case of Joseph Knight, a negro, against John Wedderburn, January 15, 1778. —*Howell's State Trials, vol.* 20, *p.* 2.

That the institution of slavery was supremely odious to all the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and to the people whom they represented, is demonstrated, not only by the solemn adjuration in the instrument itself, but by the history of the confederation throughout the revolutionary war. The abolition of slavery within the several States, was left to their respective legislatures, under the mutual pledge of honor implied in the proclamation of self-evident truths. Immediately after the close of the war of independence, and of liberty, on the 23d of April, 1783, the Congress of the confederation issued an address to the States, prepared by a committee, consisting of James Madison, Oliver Ellsworth, and Alexander Hamilton, and closing with these never-to-be-forgotten words:

"Let it be remembered, finally, that it has ever been the pride and boast of America, that the rights for which she contended *were the rights of human nature*. By the blessing of the Author of these rights on the means exerted for their defense, they have prevailed against all opposition, and *form the basis of thirteen independent States*. No instance has heretofore occurred, nor can any instance be expected hereafter to occur, in which the unadulterated forms of republican government can pretend to so fair an opportunity of justifying themselves by their fruits. In this view, the citizens of the United States are responsible for the greatest trust ever confided to a political society. If justice, good faith, honor, gratitude, and all the other qualities which ennoble the character of a nation and fulfill the ends of government, *be the fruits of our establishments*, the cause of LIBERTY will acquire a dignity and lustre which it has never yet enjoyed, and an example will be set which cannot but have the most favorable influence on the *rights of mankind*. If, on the other side, our governments should be unfortunately blotted with the reverse of these cardinal and essential virtues, the great cause which we have engaged to vindicate will be dishonored and betrayed; the last and fairest experiment in favor of the rights of human nature will be turned against them, and their patrons and friends exposed to be insulted and silenced by the votaries of tyranny and usurpation."

Is not the pledge of redemption from slavery, given by the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, solemnly repeated in every line of this address?

In pursuance and fulfillment of that sacred pledge, the people of nine of the States of this confederacy have, by their constitutions, or by the acts of their legislatures, abolished slavery within themselves forever. These are the six New England States, and the States of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In the self same year in which the Constitution of the United States was presented to the acceptance of the people, on the 13th of July, 1787, the Congress of the confederation, acting in the name and behalf of the whole people of this Union, did, by the ordinance for the government of the Northwestern territory, abolish slavery forever throughout the same; which territory now constitutes four independent States, and two territories of the Union. Thus, nine States of the primitive Union, (four States and two territories, already ripe for admission as States) have already, by the legislative action of the people of the whole Union, and of the separate States, been purged from the infection of that institution, "so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law."

The population of the free States and territories, returned by the census of 1840, was nine millions seven hundred and eighty-eight thousand, nine hundred and twenty-two. The population of the slaveholding States and territories was seven millions three hundred and twelve thousand six hundred and forty-four. The proportion is of four to three; but of the slaveholding States, two millions four hundred and eighty-seven thousand one hundred and thirteen are slaves, leaving the free population of that division of the Union to the amount only to four millions eight hundred and twenty-five thousand five hundred and thirty-one—less than one half the numbers of the free division. In tabular form it stands thus:

Whole population of the free States and territories,	9,788,922
Whole population of slaveholding States, territories, and the District of Columbia,	7,312,644
Whole free population of the free division,	9,788,932
Whole free population of the slaveholding division,	4,825,531

If any one is curious to know how the minorities of three to four, and of one to two, have tried to engross at least four-fifths of all the offices of the Union, high and low, from the President of the United States down, he need seek no further than to the chattel representation, under the name of *all other persons*, in the House of Representatives, and in the electoral colleges.

In the articles of confederation, there was no representation of slaves, nor any provision for the recovery of them as fugitives from State to State.—They were considered only as objects of taxation, in the double capacity of *persons* and *property*. Congress had no power to raise revenue by taxation. They had the power to borrow money and to issue bills of credit. For the payment of the debts and of all the expenses of the Union, in war or peace, including all the charges of the war of independence, the only means in the power of Congress were to assess the amount of contribution to be furnished by each of the separate States. In apportioning that assessment, the standard of valuation was not the same. Slaves, both as persons and as property, were among the most suitable objects of taxation; but as whatever was levied upon them must necessarily be paid, if at all, by their owners, it became the interest of the States where they were numerous, to depreciate their value as much as possible; and the interest of the States where they were few, to consider them not only as persons liable to a poll-tax, like all other members of the community, but as property, for the protection of which their owners ought, in all equity, to bear a proportional burden. Hence arose, immediately, a collision of interests between the northern and southern States, a source of deep dissension between the two divisions of the Union, and of which the only cause was *slavery*. It was *one* of the curses from that Pandora's box, adjusted at the time, as usual, by a *compromise*, the whole advantage of which inured to the benefit of slaveholders of the South, and to aggravate the burdens of the North. It was the southern States themselves who insisted upon a discount from the numbers of the slaves, as objects of taxation, to furnish the quota of the States in which they were held. The delegates from the southern States urged the largest discounts, and proposed three to one, four to one—none less than two to one. The northern delegates, on the other have, objected to any discount; but finally agreeing to the proportion proposed by Mr. Madison, of five to three.

When the Constitution of the United States came to be formed, and a Congress with legislative and taxing powers, in two branches, to be instituted, with a corresponding executive power, the element of *slavery* in the organization of the government became a subject far more complicated, and of more difficult adjustment. With the power of taxation, was necessarily and indespensably connected a representation of *the people*, both in legislative and executive departments. The House of Representatives was, therefore, instituted for the representation of the people in the legislature, and as forming the democratic portion of the system; the principle assumed for its composition was that of *numbers of persons*, without any qualification of property whatever. In the theory of human rights applied to government, taxation and representation are inseparable, and such was the principle assumed in organizing the House of Representatives of the United States. But of the *persons* composing the people of the United States, about one-sixth part were *slaves*, claimed as the *property* of another class of *persons*, composing less than one-thirtieth part of the people. It was taken for granted that these slaves must and would be taxed; but they could neither be taxed nor represented in their own persons; and here again the irreconcileable principles of slavery and of freedom came into collision with each other. In the interval between the formation of the

slavery within their respective jurisdictions, as an institution utterly incompatible with the liberties of the people, and deserving the execration of all mankind. The Congress of the confederation itself had abolished slavery forever throughout the north-western territory, the teeming mother of six free and independent States. It is scarcely conceivable how the universal voice of the people of the United States could have been more clearly and unequivocally expressed in reprobation of slavery. Notwithstanding which, the delegation from the free States, in their extreme anxiety to conciliate the ascendancy of the southern slaveholders, did listen to a compromise between right and wrong—between freedom and slavery; of the ultimate fruits of which they had no conception, but which already even now is urging the Union to its inevitable ruin and dissolution, by a civil, servile, foreign, and Indian war, all combined in one; a war, the essential issue of which will be between freedom and slavery, and in which the unhallowed standard of slavery will be the desecrated banner of the North American Union—that banner, first unfurled to the breeze, inscribed with the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence.

We have shown that the provision in the composition of the House of Representatives, purporting to be a representation of slaves under the name of *persons*, is a grant of power, enormous, preponderating power, to the owners of slaves; that instead of being a representation of slaves, it is a representation of their deadliest enemies—their masters; that, instead of being a representation of persons, it is a representation of property—of one peculiar *odious* description of property, to the exclusion of all others. That it is utterly repugnant to the vital principle of popular representation; to the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence; to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and of almost all the State constitutions; to the liberties of the whole people of the Union, and most oppressively to the people of the free States. That it established a privileged order of feudal lords in disguise; linked them together in one common interest hostile to that of the whole community, and armed them with a controlling overruling power over the legislative councils and executive authority of the Union.

And what has been its practical operation? The first consequence has been a secret, imperceptible, combined, and never-ceasing struggle to engross all the offices and depositories of power to themselves. The result is seen in the fact, that, at this day, the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and five out of nine of the judges of the supreme judicial courts of the United States, are not only citizens of the slaveholding States, but individual slaveholders themselves. So are, and constantly have been, with scarcely an exception, all the members of both Houses of Congress from the slaveholding States; and so are, in immensely disproportionate numbers, the commanding officers of the army and navy; the officers of the customs; the registers and receivers of the land offices, and the postmasters, throughout the slaveholding States. The Biennial Register indicates the birthplace of all the officers employed in the government of the Union. If it were required to designate the owners of this species of property among them, it would be little more than a catalogue of slaveholders.

Among the offices thus monopolized by the silent but uniform operation of the slave representation, is that of Speaker of the House of Representatives. The members of the House from the free States, having no common centre of attraction to rally their forces upon any one of their own number, are reduced to the condition of mere auxiliaries to the rival candidates of the South; and although the choice is consummated by the votes of the northern men with Southern principles, they are never admitted even to propose a candidate of their own, but are magnanimously permitted to choose between the slaveholders, him whom they believe will prove to them the most complacent master.

The people of the free States have little conception of the power of influence exercised by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. First, by the appointment of all the committees, vested in him alone; and secondly, by the arbitrary power of deciding all questions of order. All the important business of the House is prepared or matured by the standing or by select committees. By the recent practice of the House, the Speaker is always selected as a determined, uncompromising party-man. All the important committees are organized to fortify the ascendency of the slaveholding party. All questions of order are decided by the Speaker's arbitrary will; and, being decided on party grounds, are always sure of being sustained by a party majority in the House. A captious, quibbling spirit of chicanery draws into the vortex of order questions of vital interest to the whole Union. A single member of the ruling party can arrest and defeat any inquiry instituted, or any resolution offered by a member of the minority; while any leading member of the majority can carry any measure, if objected to, by the suspension of the rules.

It was laid down as a fundamental axiom of freedom by Thomas Jefferson, that error can be safely tolerated while reason is left free to combat it; but the slaveholding spirit tolerates no discussion. It deprecates all free debate; it trembles, as well it may, at all agitation of the question of its own despotism. It shivers at the bare idea of being exposed in its naked nature, and, at the bare mention of investigation, flies to the rifle and bowie-knife for protection. To hint at a standard of *right* and *wrong* as applicable to the institution of slavery, is to offend its dignity. It will not condescend to answer the question, by what law of nature or of God one man can be the chattel of another.

This fear of examination into the lawfulness of slavery is a full confession that it will not bear examination. It is also the key to that suppression of the right of petition, not only one of the self-evident unalienable rights of man, but guaranteed in express terms by the Constitution of the United States, and smothered by the 25th rule of the House. That rule itself is one of the most glaring exemplifications of the encroachments of the slave representation upon the Constitution, ever consummated. From the first organization of Congress, under the Constitution in 1789, until the year 1831, petitions for the abolition of slavery within the general jurisdiction of the United States were received, referred to committees, and acted upon like all others. In 1827 many of the inhabitants of the District itself had petitioned for the abolition of slavery within the same. Their petition had been received, referred to the committee on the District, and favorably reported on by its chairman, a member from the State of Virginia. The Congress of the confederation, with not one tythe of the powers of Congress under the Constitution, had exercised without question the power of abolishing slavery throughout the Northwestern territory; and one of the first acts of the Congress under the Constitution—an act approved by President Washington, on the 7th day of August, 1789—was an act to provide for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, for the express and avowed purpose of adapting the ordinance of 13th of July, 1787, to the present Constitution of the United States, in order that it might continue to have full effect. For forty-five years from the organization of the government, not a question had been made of the power of Congress to abolish slavery within the District, nothing more for that operation being necessary than to repeal the statutes of the old colonial legislatures of Virginia and Maryland, by which, in violation of the laws of nature, and nature's God, that institution had been imposed upon the people of those two colonies, as we are often told, against their will.

At the first session of the 24th Congress, on the 13th, 20th, and 27th of January, the 3d, and 24th of February, and the 26th of May, 1834, the House received and referred to the committee on the District of Columbia, without question or objection, numerous petitions for the abolition of slavery within the same.

At the second session of the same Congress, on the 26th of January, 1835, Mr. John Dickson, a member from the State of New-York, presented three memorials, numerously signed, praying for the abolition of slavery, and the slave-trade, in the District of Columbia; and on the ensuing 2d of February, he supported this motion in a speech of an hour and a half. No attempt was made to answer his argument, but a motion was made, and carried by yeas and nays, 117 to 77, to lay the whole subject on the table. Inquiry was made of the Speaker, whether the subject could be resumed, and he answered that it might, at any time, at the pleasure of the House.

Afterward, on the 23d of February, of the same session, eighteen memorials from Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, were presented, one of them by the Speaker, all praying for the abolition of slavery, and the trave-trade in the District of Columbia. It was one of the last days of a deeply agitated session, in the prospect of a war with France, and the memorials were all, without opposition, laid upon the table.

At the next session of Congress, the abolition memorials and petitions came in great numbers; and then commenced the system first started by the slave representation in the House, of refusal to receive them; which, with the aid of their auxiliary force from the free representation of the North and West, they have maintained, in glaring violation of the Constitution, of the right of petition of the people, of the legislatures of the sovereign States of this Union to remonstrate, of the freedom of debate and of speech in the House, and of Congress in the exercise of their legitimate power, and their bounden duty to listen to the complaints of their constituents, and to redress their grievances—to the present day; rights which nothing but the rescinding of this 25th rule can restore.

The 25th rule of the House is not only a violation of the Constitution, by the arbitrary suppression of the right of petition; it is the suppression of the freedom of debate in the House; a curtailment of the powers of the House itself, delegated by the Constitution. It deprives the House of the power of deliberating upon subjects of vital importance to the whole Union, delegated to them by the people. It refuses to consider the memorials, remonstrances, and solemn resolutions, of the State legislatures, and interdicts to every member of the House, the exercise of the powers delegated to him by his constituents, and the discharge of the duties prescribed to him by the Constitution. It is a perpetual denial to the House of the power to deliberate on the means of ameliorating the condition of the people; of mitigating the sufferings of the oppressed; even of regulating that traffic in slaves which the laws of Congress itself have declared piracy, punishable with death, transacted on the coast of Africa, which, without qualification of place, a treaty (the supreme law of the land) has declared irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice. Even while this rule has been in full operation, the United States have bound themselves, by a new treaty, to bear the burden and expense of keeping for five years a squadron of eighty guns on the pestilential coast of Africa, to co-operate with a British squadron of equal force, to the suppression of that trade. They have bound themselves, by another article of the same treaty, to unite with the British government "in all becoming representations and remonstrances with any and all powers within whose dominions the slave-markets are allowed to exist; and that they will urge upon all such powers the propriety and duty of closing such markets effectually, at once and forever."

We are often called upon, in no very charitable spirit, to disparage, by suspicion, the *motives* of the British nation, for their extraordinary and unparalleled exertions and sacrifices for the suppression of the slave-trade, and the abolition of slavery throughout the world. But with what face could a minister of the United States at Rio de Janeiro unite with a British plenipotentiary in representations and remonstrances to the court of Brazil, urging upon that government the propriety and the duty of closing at once and forever the slave market of Rio, if the Brazilian Secretary of State, with this rule of the House of Representatives of the North American Union in his hand, should turn to our diplomatist, and say, pointing to this city of Washington, "When you shall have closed at once and forever, the most infamous slave market in the world, it will be time for us to listen to your humane representations and remonstrances." With what a sardonic smile would the British minister look at his associate remonstrant? And what would be the color of the cheek of our representative, in saying, Our Congress have *no power* to close the slave market at Washington? They have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, but slavery and the slave market of Washington are not *cases*. They are paramount to all legislation. They are eternal!

It is said that the slave representation in the government of the United States, was a concession made to the South in the formation of the Constitution. It is also said that it was an acknowledgment that slaves are property, and that their owners are entitled to the protection of that clause of the Constitution which provides that private property shall not be taken, unless for public uses. In these positions, the subscribers believe there are several grave errors; for, first, they consider the slave representation as a concession, not to the South, but to a small minority of the people of the South—owners of this species of pretended property; who, having, by means of this unnatural wealth, monopolized to themselves all the political power of the States in which they live, to the utter prostration of the rights, not only of the slaves, but of the laboring poor *free* population of their own States, claim to be exclusively the *people*, of whom they form perhaps not a tenth part, and to concentrate in themselves all the rights and interests of the South.

Secondly. It is a grave and a gratuitous error to assume that the Constitution of the United States acknowledges slaves to be property. The truth is, that the words slave and slavery are studiously and purposely excluded from that instrument. Why was it that, in declaring *numbers* to be the standard of representation in the House and of direct taxation, it was provided that those numbers should be *determined* by adding to the whole number of *free persons*, including those bound for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of *all other persons?*

Why was it that, in the 9th section of the 1st article, the phraseology was "the *migration* or *importation* of such *persons* as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such *importation*, not exceeding ten dollars for each *person?*"

The Constitution of the United States has been celebrated for the conciseness and precision of its language—for its economy of words; why, then, all this circumlocution to say the importation of slaves shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808? and why was it that Roger Sherman objected to the tax of ten dollars, but because it might be understood to *imply* an acknowledgment that slaves were *property?*

Why was it that, in the 2d section of the 3d article, the laws of grammar were so grossly violated as to say, "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another [*The words within these brackets are omitted to show the grammatical construction of the whole sentence. The words* no person *are the noun, with which the words* shall be delivered up, *are the agreeing verb.*] shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." And why is it that the only claim, under the Constitution of the United States, that the owner can alledge to recover from another State his fugitive slave, rests upon a paragraph thus worded, the letter of which forbids that very surrender which it is intended to stipulate?

The answer to all these questions is one and the same. All these awkward, involuted and self-contradictory forms of expression were purposely used to exclude the acknowledgment that the slaves were property. No doubt they were, and still are, so considered by the laws of the States where they are held to service or labor; but it is equally clear that they were not, and are not, so considered in the free States, then and now the majority of the people and States of the confederation, and that this language of the Constitution admits of no other construction than that which disclaims all acknowledgment that slaves are property. The pretense, therefore, that the clause in the 5th article amendatory to the Constitution, which forbids the taking of private property for public use without just compensation, has, or ever had, any bearing upon the question of the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, is utterly without foundation.

The subscribers would further observe, that the resolve of the legislature of Massachusetts, and the petitions referred to this committee, do not ask for the abolition of slavery, nor for the emancipation of slaves, anywhere. They ask, in the name of the people of Massachusetts, and of the free States of this Union, to be released from the intolerable burden of supporting, by their blood and treasure, the institution of slavery in *other States*, and of being ruled, themselves, by an oligarchy of slaveholders, intruded upon the Constitution against the vital principle of republican liberty, and controlling the whole legislation of the country. They do not ask a diminution of the southern representation in Congress, or in the electoral colleges; on the contrary, they offer an increased representation to every southern State which shall abolish slavery within her own borders. They offer a *full* representation of *all* the free colored population of the South, instead of three-fifths of the slaves; leaving at the option of the southern States themselves, the alternative of securing a full representation of all their numbers by abolishing slavery, as their sister States have done, or of adhering to their slavery, but being, like their sister States, represented only for their free population.

We believe that slavery is an evil of portentous magnitude to the people of every State where it is tolerated. Such must be the opinion of the people of every State in this Union, by whose legislation slavery has been expunged from her laws. To say nothing of the six New England States, why is it that the legislature of New-York purged her statute book from every enactment which legalized slavery, but that it sped the progress of her rising sun "Excelsior?" Why was it that the legislature of Pennsylvania disburdened her municipal code of the oppressive load of slavery, but that she might, without a blush, bear upon her shield the motto of "Virtue, Liberty and Independence?" And why is it that Virginia, with her foot upon the neck of a tyrant, and calling upon all mankind to follow her example, should not, with her own hand, break the galling fetters of her own slaves, and cast them away forever? By this proposition of the legislature of Massachusetts, she invites her sister commonwealth thus, by abolishing her slavery, to emancipate herself. She says, in substance, to her: You have now fifteen representatives in the popular branch of our common legislature, and you have seventeen votes in your college of electors of President and Vice President of the United States; make your slaves free, and you shall have eighteen votes in the representative hall and twenty votes in your college of electors, as your apportionment under the census of 1840. You can accept this proposal without even impairing the right of property, which your wealthy planters claim in their slaves. Make them free, as Pennsylvania and New-York have done, by holding those already born to labor, and service, as *persons*. Declare that all born after the date of your act, within your jurisdiction, shall be born free. You are not even required, to confer upon them, the right of suffrage, or of eligibility to office. Restore them to the rights conferred upon them, by the God of nature, as men. Allow them the rights of cultivating and improving the immortal spirit within them. Allow them the blessings of connubial union; of parental, and filial affection. Class them no longer with the brutes that perish, or with inanimate matter, insensible to human suffering. So shall your enemies no longer be able to cast in your teeth, the words of your own Madison, that it was the pride and boast of your forefathers of the war of independence, that the rights for which *they* had contended, were the rights of human nature. So shall you no longer need a stipulation, so abhorrent to the feelings of freemen, for the surrender of fugitive slaves. So shall you no longer live under the perpetual panic-terror of a servile insurrection. So shall you no longer have in prospect, rapidly approaching upon you, an exterminating war, in which the Almighty has no attribute that can take your side.

The legislature of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, in two successive years, and under the alternate influence of both the great political parties which divide the community, have observed, with deep concern, the inroads upon the Constitution already effected, and the far more alarming encroachments upon the peace, and liberties, of the whole people, secretly conceived, pertinaciously pursued; and, though under false pretenses, now openly avowed by the present administration of the general government; relying exclusively on the oligarchy of the slave representation, in all the departments of that government, to carry them through. They have observed the cold blooded and systematic perfidy, with which the dismemberment of the neighboring republic of Mexico, and the annexation to this country, regardless whether by fraud or by force, of an immense portion of her territory, under the infamous banners of reinstituted slavery, have been undermining the peace and freedom of their constituents, and raising around them a wall of tyranny and oppression, even now threatening them with the imminent danger of that exterminating war, for the perpetuation of slavery and the slave-trade. They have seen the acting and accidental President of the U. States, in the first development of his political system, by his annual message, at the second session of the last Congress, combining with hollow pretenses of retrenchment and economy, urgent recommendations to Congress, to increase the army and navy, to an extent involving an expenditure of at least fifty millions of dollars a year. In searching for the motive of this gross and glaring inconsistency, it can be found only, in the coincident unceasing struggle, by disingenuous and bullying negotiation, and by shameless unprovoked aggression, to breed a war with Mexico, and its inevitable consequence, a war with Great Britain, in which the free people of this Union will be the victims, but which may extend the sceptre of slavery over the whole North American continent.

The resolves of the legislature of Massachusetts, speak the unanimous opinions and sentiments of her people—unanimous with the exception of the sordid souls linked to the cause of slavery by the hopes and expectations of patronage. In February, 1843, a petition, signed by upwards of 65,000 of their fellow-citizens, suffering under the mal-administration of the government of the United States, by a merciless, treacherous, and unconstitutional course of policy towards the Indian tribes, equally regardless of the faith of treaties, the rights of property, and the solemn adjudications of the supreme judicial court of the United States; by a Florida war, waged with unparalleled atrocity and glaring perfidy, to the open avowal of hunting their women and children with bloodhounds—a war of extermination, at an estimated cost of forty millions of dollars, against one of the feeblest of the Indian tribes, to glut the avarice and revenge of bordering slave hunters; by a course of policy equally false and treacherous towards Mexico, provoking her to war by stimulating internal insurrection against her government, by continual overbearing and insulting negotiation, and by unprovoked invasion of her territory: all these for the ultimate purpose of fastening the yoke of slavery upon the free portion of this Union forever; by a course of policy towards foreign powers, especially Great Britain, insidiously and incessantly intent upon breeding a war for slavery against her glorious and avowed purpose of extinguishing that curse from the face of the earth. Under the deep anxieties occasioned by this state of the public affairs, the petitioners had witnessed the scene of a slave hunter from Virginia, claiming for his slave a man of more than three-fourths Anglo-Saxon blood, descended in the paternal line from the proud aristocracy of the Ancient Dominion, and bearing a name distinguished among the citizens of his parent commonwealth. The pursuer had falsely charged his intended victim with felony committed within the commonwealth of Massachusetts. This stratagem was necessary to enable him, by the laws of Massachusetts, to cast him in prison, as charged with crime, and then to demand the surrender and possession of his person, as a slave. The history of all ages, has proved that incidents of oppression suffered by single individuals, in the presence and before the eyes of multitudes, have been the signal for the overthrow of tyranny. The abuse of organized law to transport the self-emancipated slave from the soil of freedom, back to his dungeon, and his chains, was a scene which the freemen of Massachusetts could not endure to behold. The rod of the oppressor broke in his hands. He received an equivalent in money, raised by contribution, for his claims to the labor and service of his slave; and Latimer became a free citizen of Massachusetts, and a petitioner to her legislature, with 65,000 others, for relief from the grievance of participating in the odious law of southern slavery.

The legislature of Massachusetts have more than once remonstrated, in the spirit of fraternal union and of faithful adherence to the Constitution, against the encroachments of organized slavery in the laws of many of the slaveholding States, and countenanced, encouraged, and promoted by slave representation in the national government. They have complained, year after year, of outrages upon the persons of many of their free citizens, frequenting the ports of the South, in the pursuits of their honest occupations, and cast into prison and treated with indignity, by arbitrary enactments, in daring defiance of the Constitution of the United States, so declared by a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, himself a native of the transgressing State. They have seen the dearest rights of their citizens, and the faith of solemn treaties trampled upon for a series of years, and still trampled upon; while, to their mild and patient remonstrances, they have received nothing but a continued refusal of redress, and an open avowal that if a dissolution of the Union, and a war with the most powerful nation upon the earth should ensue from these unconstitutional, cruel, and oppressive enactments, they should still be persisted in. They have seen the right of petition of the whole free people of this Union, smothered for a series of years, in both houses of Congress, by the ascendancy of the slave representation. They now see their own people in imminent danger of being plunged into a relentless war of extermination, for the plunder of Mexico, and the perpetuation of slavery and the slave-trade. Well might the legislature of Massachusetts, in two successive years, demand the purification of the common Constitution from that unnatural and inconsistent element of slave representation in the government of a free people.

The subscribers believe, however, that the legislature and people of Massachusetts will be satisfied, for the present, with the emission of their warning voice, and the free exposition of the reasons by which it has been prompted. They propose, therefore, for the decision of the House, the following resolution:

Resolved, That the proposals of the legislature of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and the petitions praying for the adoption by Congress of measures conformably to the Constitution to effect the same amendments, be postponed for further consideration to the first Monday of December, next.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
J. R. GIDDINGS.

TEXAS.

"The annexation of Texas has been the settled policy of the government for many years past. But it has only been one of a series of measures which have constituted that policy. Perhaps it was one of the most difficult of accomplishment, and therefore the longest delayed, that all the initiatory steps might be taken. There have been those in the free States, who have watched the progress made, with unsleeping vigilance, and who have more than once succeeded in defeating the scheme for the moment, but it has never been laid aside. It will never be laid aside until it is accomplished. Time will be given to remove from the scene the most powerful opponents, or to soften the roughest obstacles. But the thing will be done, peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary. Let no man in the free States hug the delusion that it is stopped, because two-thirds of the senators cannot now be found to ratify Mr. Tyler's treaty. There are many ways in America to arrive at the same result. If one fails, another will be tried. Money, promises, bribes, threats will be used, bargains will be made, and the end of it all will be, that the people of the free States will be sold, and Texas will be bought for the bauble of the presidency."—*Boston Courier.*

THE TREATY WITH TEXAS.

The New-York American introduces this infamous treaty to the public with the following preliminary remarks:

Look at it, men of honor. Look at it friends of freedom. Look at friends of peace, and of the faith of treaties. Look at it Americans, who believe that the Constitution was not meant to "consecrate" and perpetuate slavery.

We have neither time nor space for comments—but in the way of corrupt speculation, look at the provision for the payment to Mr. Dawson, of Baltimore, of $250,000.

Infamous, as is the treaty, the correspondence is yet more so! Respecting the imputed designs of England, take the explicit extract from Lord Aberdeen's despatch, communicated to this government on 26th February last:

"With regard to Texas, we avow that we wish to see slavery abolished there, elsewhere, and we should rejoice if the recognition of that country by the Mexican government should be accompanied by an engagement on the part of Texas, to abolish slavery eventually, and under proper condition, throughout the republic. But although we earnestly desire and feel it to be our duty to promote such a consummation, we shall not interfere unduly, or with an improper assumption of authority, with either party, in order to insure the adoption of such a course. We shall counsel, but we shall not seek to compel, or unduly control, either party. So far as Great Britain is concerned, provided other States act with equal forbearance, those governments will be fully at liberty to make their own unfettered arrangements with each other, both in regard to the abolition of slavery, and to all other points.

"Great Britain, moreover, does not desire to establish in Texas, whether partially dependent on Mexico, or entirely independent, (which latter alternative we consider in every respect preferable,) any dominant influence. She only desires to share her influence equally with all other nations. Her objects are purely commercial, and she has no thought or intention of seeking to act directly or indirectly, in a political sense, on the United States through Texas."

A TREATY OF ANNEXATION.

Concluded between the United States of America and the Republic of Texas, at Washington, the 12th day April, 1844.

The people of Texas having, at the time of adopting their Constitution, expressed, by an almost unanimous vote, their desire to be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and being still desirous of the same with equal unanimity, in order to provide more effectually for their security and prosperity; and the United States, actuated solely by the desire to add to their own security and prosperity, and to meet the wishes of the government and people of Texas, have determined to accomplish by treaty, objects so important to their mutual and permanent welfare.

For that purpose, the President of the United States has given full powers to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of State of the United States, and the President of the republic of Texas has appointed with like powers, Isaac Van Zandt, and J. Pinckney Henderson, citizens of the said republic; and the said plenipotentiaries, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed on and concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The republic of Texas, acting in conformity with the wishes of the people and every department of its government, cedes to the United States all the territories, to be held by them in full property and sovereignty, and to be annexed to the United States as one of their territories, subject to the same constitutional provisions with their other territories. This cession includes all public lots and squares, vacant lands, mines, minerals, salt lakes, and springs, public edifices, fortifications, barracks, ports, and harbors, navy, and navy yards, docks, magazines, arms, armaments, and accoutrements, archives, and public documents, public funds, debts, taxes, and dues unpaid, at the time of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty.

ART. II. The citizens of Texas shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, and property, and admitted as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, and immunities, of citizens of the United States.

ART. III. All titles and claims to real estate, which are valid under the laws of Texas, shall be held to be so, by the United States; and measures shall be adopted for the speedy adjudication of all unsettled claims to land, and patents shall be granted to those found to be valid.

ART. IV. The public lands hereby ceded shall be subject to the laws regulating the public lands in the other territories of the United States, as far as they may be applicable; subject, however, to such alterations and changes, as Congress may from time to time think proper to make. It is understood between the parties, that, if in consequence of the mode in which lands have been surveyed in Texas, or from previous grants or locations, the sixteenth section cannot be applied for the purpose of education, Congress shall make equal provision by grant of land elsewhere. And it is also further understood, that hereafter, the books, papers, and documents of the general land office of Texas, shall be deposited and kept at such place in Texas, as the Congress of the United States shall direct.

ART. V. The United States assume and agree to pay the public debt and liabilities of Texas, however created, for which the faith or credit of her government may be bound at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty; which debts and liabilities are estimated not to exceed, in the whole, ten millions of dollars, to be ascertained and paid in the manner hereinafter stated.

The payment of the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars shall be made at the treasury of the United States, within ninety days after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, as follows: Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to Frederic Dawson, of Baltimore, or his executors, on the delivery of that amount of ten per cent. bonds of Texas; one hundred thousand dollars, if so much be required, in the redemption of the exchequer bills which may be in circulation at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. For the payment of the remainder of the debts and liabilities of Texas, which, together with the amount already specified, shall not exceed ten millions of dollars, the public lands herein ceded, and the net revenue from the same, are hereby pledged.

ART. VI. In order to ascertain the full amount of the debts and liabilities herein assumed, and the legality and validity thereof, four commissioners shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall meet at Washington, Texas, within the period of six months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, and may continue in session not exceeding twelve months, unless the Congress of the United States should prolong the time. They shall take an oath for the faithful discharge of their duties, and that they are not directly or indirectly interested in said claims at the time, and will not be during their continuance in office; and the said oath shall be recorded with their proceedings. In case of the death, sickness, or resignation of any of the commissioners, his or their place or places, may be supplied by the appointment as aforesaid, or by the President of the United States, during the recess of the Senate. They, or a majority of them, shall be authorized, under such regulations as the Congress of the United States may prescribe, to hear, examine, and decide on all questions touching the legality and validity of said claims, and shall, when a claim is allowed, issue a certificate to the claimant, stating the amount, distinguishing principal from interest. The certificates so issued shall be numbered, and entry made of the number, the name of the person to whom issued, and the amount, in a book to be kept for that purpose. They shall transmit the records of their proceedings and the book in which the certificates are entered, with the vouchers and documents produced before them, relative to the claims allowed or rejected, to the treasury department of the United States, to be deposited therein; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall, as soon as practicable, after the receipt of the same, ascertain the aggregate amount of the debts and liabilities allowed, and if the same, when added to the amount to be paid to Frederic Dawson, and the sum which may be paid in the redemption of the exchequer bills shall not exceed the estimated sum of ten millions of dollars, he shall on the presentation of a certificate of the commissioners, issue, at the option of the holder, a new certificate for the amount, distinguishing principal from interest, and payable to him or order, out of the net proceeds of the public lands hereby ceded, or stock of the United States for the amount allowed, including principal and interest, and bearing an interest of three per cent. per annum from the date thereof; which stock, in addition to being made payable out of the net proceeds of the public lands hereby ceded, shall also be receivable in payment for the same. In case the amount of the debts and liabilities allowed, with the sums aforesaid to be paid to Frederic Dawson, and which may be paid in the redemption of the exchequer bills, shall exceed the said sum of ten millions of dollars, the said Secretary, before issuing a new certificate, or stock, as the case may be, shall make in each case such proportionable and rateable reduction on its amount as to reduce the aggregate to the said sum of ten millions of dollars, and he shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations necessary to carry into effect the powers hereby vested in him.

ART. VII. Until further provision shall be made the laws of Texas, as now existing, shall remain in force, and all executive and judicial officers of Texas, except the President, Vice-President, and heads of departments, shall retain their offices, with all power and authority appertaining thereto, and the courts of justices shall remain in all respects as now organized.

ART. VIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint a commissioner, who shall proceed to Texas and receive the transfer of the territory thereof, and all the archives and public property, and other things herein conveyed, in the name of the United States. He shall exercise all executive authority in said territory necessary to the proper execution of the laws, until otherwise provided.

ART. IX. The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at the city of Washington, in six months from the date hereof, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, plenipotentiaries of the United States of America, and of the republic of Texas, have signed, by virtue of our powers, the present treaty of annexation, and have hereunto affixed our seals, respectively.

Done at Washington, the twelfth day of April, eighteen hundred and forty-four.

J. C CALHOUN, [Seal.]
ISAAC VAN ZANDT. [Seal.]
J. PINCKNEY HENDERSON. [Seal.]

MR. CLAY'S LETTER ON THE TEXAS QUESTION.

RALEIGH, April 17, 1844.

To the Editors of the National Intelligencer:

Gentlemen: Subsequent to my departure from Ashland, in December last, I received various communications from popular assemblages and private individuals, requesting an expression of my opinion upon the question of the annexation of Texas to the United States. I have forborne to reply to them, because it was not very convenient, during the progress of my journey, to do so, and for other reasons. I did not think it proper, unnecessarily, to introduce at present a new element among the other exciting subjects which agitate and engross the public mind. The rejection of the overture of Texas, some years ago, to become annexed to the United States, had met with general acquiescence. Nothing had since occurred materially to vary the question. I had seen no evidence of a desire being entertained, on the part of any considerable portion of the American people, that Texas should become an integral part of the United States. During my sojourn in New Orleans, I had, indeed, been greatly surprised, by information which I received from Texas, that, in the course of last fall, a voluntary overture had proceeded from the executive of the United States to the authorities of Texas to conclude a treaty of annexation; and that, in order to overcome the repugnance felt by any of them to a negotiation upon the subject, strong and, as I believed, erroneous representations had been made to them, of a state of opinion in the Senate of the United States, favorable to the ratification of such a treaty. According to these representations, it had been ascertained that a number of senators, varying from thirty-five to forty-two, were ready to sanction such a treaty. I was aware, too, that holders of Texas lands, and Texas scrip, and speculators in them, were actively engaged in promoting the object of annexation. Still, I did not believe that any executive of the United States, would venture upon so grave and momentous a proceeding, not only without any general manifestation of public opinion, in favor of it, but in direct opposition to strong and decided expressions of public disapprobation. But it appears that I was mistaken.—To the astonishment of the whole nation, we are now informed, that a treaty of annexation, has been actually concluded, and is to be submitted to the Senate, for its consideration. The motives for my silence, therefore, no longer remain, and I feel it to be my duty, to present an exposition of my views and opinions upon the question, for what they may be worth, to the public consideration. I adopt this method as being more convenient than several replies to the respective communications which I have received.

I regret that I have not the advantage of a view of the treaty itself, so as to enable me to adapt an expression of my opinion, to the actual conditions and stipulations which it contains. Not possessing that opportunity, I am constrained to treat the question according to what I presume to be the terms of the treaty. If, without the loss of national character, without the hazard of foreign war, with the general concurrence of the nation, without any danger to the integrity of the Union, and without giving any unreasonable price for Texas, the question of annexation were presented, it would appear in quite a different light from that in which, I apprehend, it is now to be regarded.

The United States acquired a title to Texas, extending, as I believe, to the Rio del Norte, by the treaty of Louisiana. They ceded and relinquished that title to Spain by the treaty of 1819, by which the Sabine was substituted for the Rio del Norte as our western boundary. This treaty was negotiated under the administration of Mr. Monroe, and with the concurrence of his cabinet, of which Messrs. Crawford, Calhoun, and Wirt, being a majority, all southern gentlemen, composed a part. When the treaty was laid before the House of Representatives, being a member of that body, I expressed the opinion, which I then entertained, and still hold, that Texas was sacrificed to the acquisition of Florida. We wanted Florida; but I thought it must, from its position, inevitably fall into our possession; that the point of a few years, sooner or later, was of no sort of consequence, and that in giving five millions of dollars, and Texas for it, we gave more than a just equivalent. But, if we made a great sacrifice in the surrender of Texas, we ought to take care not to make too great a sacrifice in the attempt to re-acquire it.

My opinions of the expediency of the treaty of 1819 did not prevail. The country and Congress were satisfied with it, appropriations were made to carry it into effect, the line of the Sabine was recognized by us as our boundary, in negotiations both with Spain and Mexico, after Mexico became independent, and measures have been in actual progress to mark the line, from the Sabine to Red river, and thence to the Pacific ocean. We have thus fairly alienated our title to Texas, by solemn national compacts, to the fulfillment of which we stand bound by good faith and national honor. It is, therefore, perfectly idle and ridiculous, if not dishonorable, to talk of resuming our title to Texas, as if we had never parted with it. We can no more do that than Spain can resume Florida, France Louisiana, or Great Britain the thirteen colonies, now composing a part of the United States.

During the administration of Mr. Adams, Mr. Poinsett, minister of the United States at Mexico, was instructed by me, with the President's authority, to propose a re-purchase of Texas; but he forbore even to make an overture for that purpose. Upon his return to the United States, he informed me, at New Orleans, that his reason for not making it was, that he knew the purchase was wholly impracticable, and that he was persuaded that, if he made the overture, it would have no other effect than to aggravate irritations, already existing, upon matters of difference between the two countries.

The events which have since transpired in Texas are well known. She revolted against the government of Mexico, flew to arms, and finally fought and won the memorable battle of San Jacinto, annihilating a Mexican army, and making a captive of the Mexican President. The signal success of that revolution was greatly aided, if not wholly achieved, by citizens of the United States, who had migrated to Texas. These succors, if they could not always be prevented by the government of the United States, were furnished in a manner, and to an extent, which brought upon us some national reproach in the eyes of an impartial world. And, in my opinion, they impose on us the obligation of scrupulously avoiding the imputation of having instigated and aided the revolution with the ultimate view of territorial aggrandizement. After the battle of San Jacinto, the United States recognized the independence of Texas, in conformity with the principle and practice which have always prevailed in their councils of recognizing the government "*de facto*," without regarding the question *de jure*. That recognition did not affect or impair the rights of Mexico, or change the relations which existed between her and Texas. She, on the contrary, has preserved all her rights, and has continued to assert, and so far as I know, yet asserts, her right to reduce Texas to obedience, as a part of the republic of Mexico. According to late intelligence, it is probable that she has agreed upon a temporary suspension of hostilities; but, if that has been done, I presume it is with the purpose, upon the termination of the armistice, of renewing the war and enforcing her rights, as she considers them.

This narrative shows the present actual condition of Texas, so far as I have information about it. If it be correct, Mexico has not abandoned, but perseveres in the assertion of her rights, by actual force of arms, which, if suspended, are intended to be renewed. Under these circumstances, if the government of the United States were to acquire Texas, it would acquire, along with it, all the incumbrances which Texas is under, and among them, the actual or suspended war between Mexico and Texas. Of that consequence, there cannot be a doubt. Annexation, and war with Mexico, are identical. Now, for one, I certainly am not willing to involve this country in a foreign war for the object of acquiring Texas. I know there are those who regard such a war with indifference, and as a trifling affair, on account of the weakness of Mexico, and her inability to inflict serious injury upon this country. But I do not look upon it thus lightly. I regard all wars as great calamities, to be avoided, if possible, and honorable peace as the wisest and truest policy of this country. What the United States most need, are union, peace, and patience. Nor do I think that the weakness of a power should form a motive, in any case, for inducing us to engage in, or to depreciate the evils of war. Honor, and good faith, and justice, are equally due from this country towards the weak, as towards the strong. And, if an act of injustice were to be perpetrated towards any power, it would be more compatible with the dignity of the nation, and, in my judgement, less dishonorable, to inflict it upon a powerful, instead of a weak foreign nation. But are we perfectly sure that we should be free from injury in a state of war with Mexico? Have we any security that countless numbers of foreign vessels, under the authority and flag of Mexico, would not prey upon our defenseless commerce in the Mexican gulf, on the Pacific ocean, and on every other sea and ocean? What commerce, on the other hand, does Mexico offer, as an indemnity for our losses, to the gallantry and enterprise of our countrymen? This view of the subject supposes that the war would be confined to the United States and Mexico, as the only belligerents. But have we any certain guaranty that Mexico would obtain no allies among the great European powers? Suppose any such powers, jealous of our increasing greatness, and disposed to check our growth and cripple us, were to take part in behalf of Mexico in the war, how would the different belligerents present themselves to Christendom, and the enlight

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1844.

Take Notice.—There is a paper published in this city, called the New-York Standard, and letters and papers intended for us, often get miscarried to that office. Our friends and correspondents will please be sure and direct to us, as the *Anti-Slavery* Standard.

To the Members and Friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in Massachusetts.

The board of managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society beg leave to remind you of the approaching anniversary of the Parent Society, which will be held in the city of New-York, on the 7th of May, and to urge you to grudge no expense, and to spare no effort, to insure your attendance, in full and effective array, on that vitally important occasion. They would deem it a serious calamity to the cause, if not a discouraging indication of apathy on your part, for you to remain at home at a time when your presence, your counsel, your co-operation, were never more needed than they will be at the ensuing anniversary. Questions of the highest importance will be presented for consideration and action, intimately connected with the welfare and efficiency of the Parent Society in regard to its future operations, and also in relation to a peaceful dissolution of the present oppressive and blood-cemented American Union.

Let us, then, be strongly represented at New-York, from Maine to Wiskonsan. Let those abolitionists, who cannot possibly give their personal attendance, combine their means together, in the various parts of our widely-extended country, and send as delegates men and women of the soundest judgments, the clearest vision, the strongest intellects, and the best hearts, in whom they can confide undoubtingly, and who will truly represent those by whose assistance they are enabled to be present.

"The time has come for earnest deeds—we've not a man to spare."

In behalf of the Board,

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

EDMUND QUINCY, *Secretary.*

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The circumstances under which this is to take place, are equally gratifying and important. They demand new and more strenuous, but at the same time richly reward past efforts. We have arrived at a great crisis, a crisis fraught with danger, imposing increased burdens and duties, but full of hope and encouragement. Abolitionists should hail it with joy, and gird themselves to meet it like men. It is what they have courted. It is just what their labors and sacrifices have tended slowly, but surely, through ten long years, to produce. Our operations have not been *action*, but study, thought, deliberation—in a word, *preparation* for action. We have planted, and watered, and now "God giveth the *increase*."

The political power of slavery (its whole power) is breaking down; and because the slaveholders and slave-breeders feel that it is so, they resort to the desperate expedient, for reinstating and sustaining it, which will bring about, much more speedily and auspiciously than could have been expected, the consummation of our labors and wishes! Abolitionists have always seen, and for a period longer than the American, or any anti-slavery society in this country has existed, have taught, that the moving cause for the attempt to annex Texas, was the maintenance of slavery, and the despotic power, and blighting influence emanating from it. The country, also saw, when the case was presented to them, that it did not come within the constitutional obligations which they had permitted to supercede the highest obligations of morality. Their sense of justice, their natural sympathy for the slave, and that spirit of liberty, indigenous and universal in the soil of the pilgrims, after a thraldom of fifty years, were set free. The gigantic shadow of the federal Union no longer obscured their vision, nor chilled their affections. Fifteen years ago, the discussion of the question of annexation commenced, and opposition to the scheme was placed on the same grounds on which it has been continued with augmented zeal, force, and effect, to the present day.

From these causes, the anti-slavery sentiment, so far as regards this question, is peculiarly mature, and nearly universal in the free States. The people are ready for action upon it. Now this question enfolds the fate of American slavery. Let the annexation of Texas be definitively refused, and the South will immediately set about making the best arrangements they can for the abolition of slavery, or they will secede, and unite their fortunes with those of their Texan brethren. In either event, an immense stride will have been made towards the extirpation of American slavery. If the slave States remain in the Union, and that several of them will is quite certain, slave breeding and the American slave-trade, the only supports of the institution in one-half, and those the most powerful, of those States, must soon cease. If they go out of it, and annex Texas to a few, and those the feeblest of the *dis*-United States, they are immediately involved in a war with Mexico—a war for slavery—a war in which the sympathies and the assistance of the civilized world will be enlisted against them. They will be surrounded by a cordon of free States, to which their slaves will flee without a possibility of reclaiming them. The moral power, the press, and the ecclesiastical influences of those States, will bear upon them with new energy and concentration. In either of the events which we have supposed, the aspect and the prospects of our cause will be materially changed, and may require new deliberations and resolves.

But the work which lies immediately before us, in addition to the ordinary conduct of the general cause, is to resist with united strength, and "with hearts of controversy," the plot for the annexation of Texas, a plot the most infernal of modern ages. Usurpation, robbery, and massacre, have been committed by despotic governments, and ignorant and servile subjects at all periods; but despotic and servile as they were, we shall ransack their history in vain, to find national guilt of so deep a die, of such unmitigated enormity, as it would be to "wade through slaughter," simply and purely for the establishment and maintenance of chattel-slavery, the extension and perpetuation of the nefarious slave-trade, and the still more nefarious system of breeding slaves to supply that trade. But what people is it, that is now called to embrue its hands in blood for such an object? No other than "the pattern republic," "the most enlightened and virtuous nation upon earth," the great preacher of the equal, inalienable and universal rights of *all* men to *liberty!* This detestable and unequaled pre-eminence in crime, and infamy, is only to be avoided by a fierce struggle, of which the triumph, which awaits our *cause* in the Senate of the United States, will be only an affair of an outpost. In this struggle, the abolitionists, as the pioneers must, if true to their calling, be ever foremost. This time we shall be cheered by the shouts of a countless host pressing close upon our rear; but even this state of things, gratifying as it will be to our feelings, and advantageous as it may be made to our cause, will not be without its peculiar danger. It may tempt us to relax our vigilance and activity, and to yield the post of hardship and trial, to others less experienced, and possibly less faithful. It is our mission still to precede, inform, and direct others. For this we have been sent, and for this we are fully recognized and looked to.

There are other questions, for the moment subordinate, but not without great intrinsic importance, which will in all probability engage the attention of the American Society at this meeting. That of the dissolution of the Union, would doubtless be very prominent, if it were not embraced in the question of annexation. In that form it must, of course, be agitated, and it is probable that any other form of it will for the present be superfluous, if not impracticable; and may soon be rendered forever unnecessary.

The subjects of *come-out-ism*, and of the course pursued by the Standard in relation to it, will probably recur. We trust that the abolitionists will consider these maturely, previous to the meeting, in order that they may be prepared to act intelligently, independently, and if possible, harmoniously thereon. We have neither time nor space for further discussion of these matters, we would suggest that before the time of the meeting, a recurrence may be usefully had to the following articles on those subjects, viz: "Where We Are," of *August* 24*th*, 1843; "Our Position," being the correspondence of the editor with the Boston Branch of the executive committee, *November* 9*th*, 1843; "The Decennial Meeting," *December* 28*th*, 1843, and *January* 4*th*, 1844; and *S. S. Foster's* reply to the last mentioned article, *January* 25*th*, and *February* 15th, 1844.

Friends of the slave, and of one another! let us have a full meeting of the true hearts, and strong hands from all quarters far and near. Let us bring a spirit of conciliation, but not of compromise; of fidelity, but not of intolerance; of sternness, but not indiscriminateness; self-sacrificing, but not boasting, nor exacting; forgiving more to others than to ourselves.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1844.

The political elements, somewhat quieted by the submission of the treaty to the Senate, and its supposed reference in that body to the committee on foreign affairs, are again thrown into violent commotion. The letters of Clay and Van Buren, particularly the latter, are the cause. The southern portion of the democrats abuse him in the most unmeasured terms, and insist that he must be dropped, and Cass, Calhoun, or Tyler, taken up. Their watchword is "now or never" and not without reason, because they know that discussion is dangerous to the scheme. They therefore look upon Mr. Van Buren's idea of delay, as equivalent to that of rejection. I have read about five columns of his letter with admiration of its ability, and with a hearty concurrence in the soundness and justness of most of that portion. But his "lame and impotent conclusion," so inconsistent with his professions and with his admirable arguments shocked and disgusted me. "When the period of definitive action arrives," says he, "the considerations now taken into view, may have lost the weight they at present possess in the estimation of the *public*, and others not now regarded as of any value, may in the meantime arise to affect materially, if not to change the whole aspect of the subject."

This leaves a wide margin. Everything is referred to public opinion as an infallible test of right and wrong. But this is not all; the writer undertakes to lead public opinion into a disregard of all that he had so elaborately urged. He tells the country that the condition on which all his imposing and solemn objections may be set aside, is such a persistence on the part of Mexico to recover Texas, as shall "produce a conviction in a majority of the people that the permanent welfare, if not absolute safety of all, make it necessary that the proposed annexation should take place, *be the consequences what they may.*" He had before said "Nothing is more true or more extensively known, than that Texas was wrested from Mexico through the instrumentality of citizens of the United States. Equally true is it that this was done in direct contravention of the best efforts of our government to prevent our citizens from engaging in the enterprise."

The first sentence of this paragraph is true, and the last false. "Best efforts!" Not a single sincere effort was made. In all other cases of foreign wars, or of meditated attack on foreign territory by expeditions from the United States, strong proclamations were issued to arrest the expedition, or prevent interference by our citizens, enjoining upon all, a peaceable demeanor and strict neutrality toward the belligerents, and denouncing punishment, and instructing all officers and magistrates, to institute prosecutions for any violation of this injunction. Such was the proclamation of Washington, at the breaking out of the war betwixt Great Britain and France, in 1793; Jefferson's proclamation, when Burr, Jackson, &c. got up their expedition against Texas, in 1806; Madison's upon the insurrection of the Spanish American colonies in 1815; Van Buren's during the Canadian insurrection in 1838; and John Tyler's upon the supposed attempt of the Canadian refugees and citizens of the United States, by secret societies, to renew the same in 1841. *In the case of Texas no proclamation was issued*, though Mr. Van Buren well knew, as he acknowledges, that the citizens of the United States, were the authors and finishers of the insurrection in that province. I might state a vast many other facts to show the utter falsity and insincerity of this assertion, but the above is enough. If so obvious, easy, usual, and important a means as the issuing of a proclamation, was neglected, other less comprehensive and effective modes would be so too. But how does he justify the fact, which he confesses, viz: that citizens of the United States did the deed? Simply by the assertion that it was impossible to prevent them! This is what neither he nor General Jackson could know until they had tried all usual, legitimate, and possible means. To the Canada lines Mr. Van Buren sent the commander-in-chief of the army, and two or three thousand troops, besides proclamations. Troops were also sent, under General Gaines, not to the *frontier* of Mexico, but *into it*, thereby committing an act of war on the part of the government, instead of compelling lawless citizens to keep the peace! And while the troops were there, from two to three hundred were permitted to pass over with the arms and uniform of the United States, and join the insurgents! Whence this marked and amazing difference? Great Britain was powerful, and Mexico weak. Great Britain had fleets and armies to chastise aggression, Mexico, no defense except the justice of her cause! But in what an attitude does Mr. Van Buren present to the world this government, which he once administered, and therefore, will be taken fully to know? It is that of an utter and acknowledged incapacity to perform the plainest and most necessary duties toward foreign nations, duties which all our treaties bind us in the most solemn manner to perform, and which those nations, in consideration of our being so bound, bind themselves to perform toward us.

But why does Mr. Van Buren assert, and expose the imbecility of his government? Obviously as a justification for ommitting to fulfill our treaty obligations toward Mexico, by restraining our citizens or foreigners going from our territory, (for there were many such,) from making war upon her. Now he deems this a justification or he would not alledge it. But if be a justification now, it will be so two, three, five, or ten years hence; and lawless citizens, foreign adventurers and freebooters, may during those periods justifiably, (we continuing *unable* to restrain them, as certainly we should under Mr. Van Buren,) carry on war against Mexico in conjunction with the Texans, and thus produce that very state of things, viz: the persistence of Mexico, which Mr. Van Buren tells us might and would justify annexation at all hazards. If this be not a plain and palpable attempt to pervert public opinion, seduce our citizens from their duty, and to encourage acknowledged crime against a neighborly and friendly state, I know not what it is. If it be not the most contemptible duplicity, and jesuitism, then there is no such thing as moral distinctions, and "virtue is but a name."

The conclusion of the whole matter is, that if a majority of the people should become *convinced* that they want Texas, and Mexico should persist in reclaiming it, though compelled to that 'persistence' by 'our own wrong,' and a majority of Congress should concur with the people in the conviction that it is necessary or convenient for us to have it, why then says Mr. Van Buren, "if, in charge of the responsible duties of President, I should hold it to be my duty to employ the executive power to carry into full and fair effect the wishes of a majority of the people of the existing States, thus constitutionally and solemnly expressed." In plain English, choose me President with a view of getting Texas, choose a Congress with the same view, and we will get it for you, "BE THE CONSEQUENCES WHAT THEY MAY."

I look upon Clay's letter as satisfactory. He is not afraid, slaveholder as he is, to name "SLAVERY," while Van Buren eschews it, as he would a pesthouse. Clay tells the nation, and the world, that to annex Texas, will be to engage in a war "for the propagation of slavery." I admit, that while I like the statesman as he appears in this letter, I should have been glad to have seen *more* of the philanthropist and reformer; still, I cannot deny that, upon the whole, the letter appears to me satisfactory. It is not as carefully written as Van Buren's, but it is the height of heaven above it in honesty. I lately declared in the Liberator that, if Mr. Van Buren came out against annexation, I would support him sooner than I would Mr. Clay, if he was either for it, or *uncommitted* against it. I did not then know but that both were in favor of it. I feared that they were. If the declarations now before me had been reversed, and Clay been for, and Van Buren against annexation, I should have cheerfully redeemed the pledge thus given, and which, I may add, my conduct has for many years given.

I have learned that the first, and I may say the last movement of our government in the Texas affair, has had no other foundation than a letter of Duff Green, written while he was in England, announcing that the British government were going to furnish $5,000,000 to buy up the slaves in Texas, and set them free. Suppose it true, what a cause would it be for involving this nation in the horrors of war? What "an attitude," as Mr. Clay says, for this republic! But Lord Aberdeen has denied the fact to Mr. Everett, and Mr. Packenham to Mr. Calhoun, and there is not a particle of evidence of it, except the tale of Duff Green!

I stated some time back, that President Tyler must have given assurances to the Texan government, that the treaty would be ratified by the constitutional majority of the Senate. It is now certain that he did so; but his communication to that effect, is not among the documents! Here is a renewal of that unconstitutional, irresponsible, and alarming manner of managing negotiations on the most important subjects, and at the most critical junctures, through the medium of "private," "unofficial," and "informal" letters and instructions from the President. I found occasion to say much on this head, as reviewing the negotiations for Texas in the time of Gen. Jackson. Such letters are kept from the public archives, when, in fact, they are the most important portion of the records of the country, without which the country can never know what its servants do, or hold them to the slightest responsibility!—D. L. C.

CASE OF JOHN L. BROWN.

This young man, who was sentenced to be hung, by a judge in South Carolina, for assisting a slave girl to escape from bondage, has excited a prodigious sensation in Great Britain. The judge's charge, which talked most *religiously* to the young man about the *crime* he had committed, has been commented upon by the public journals in terms of the greatest surprise and indignation.—The British churches have sent earnest memorials of expostulation to the governor and churches in South Carolina, signed by five hundred ministers and deacons, and thousands of church members. They say: "If this sentence is executed, it will make the civilized world stand aghast, and sink America beneath the lowest depth of barbarian dishonor."

Numerous other memorials have been signed by mayors, sheriffs, aldermen, &c. of various cities.

To see the indignation of civilized nations thus aroused by his *very religious* charge, will probably surprise the South Carolina judge, as much as the ex-Dey of Algiers was surprised when he was informed by a magistrate at Naples, that it would be considered and treated as a crime, if he proceeded to chop off his slave's head with a big carving-knife, which he had borrowed for the purpose.

John L. Brown's sentence, it will be remembered, was commuted to thirty-nine lashes on the bare back. A few years ago, he would have been hung, and no remarks made.

TO DELEGATES TO THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The present office of the Society, at 143 Nassau street, will be occupied at the time of the meeting by the lessee for the year. A room has been provided [up stairs] directly over the old office, where delegates will please call and leave their names.

☞ Acknowledgements deferred.

Congress.

SENATE, Monday, April 22.

Mr. *Breese*, of Illinois, presented the remonstrance of citizens of Sangamon county, Ill. against the annexation of Texas, which he asked to have read, and it was read.

Mr. *Fairfield*, of Maine, presented the petition of citizens of Bangor, Maine, in *favor* of the annexation of Texas, provided it can be done *without a violation of justice or of the public faith*. At Mr. F.'s request it was read.

[They might as well have omitted petitioning, as to have inserted such conditions. Their great argument is vamped up from Walker's pamphlet, that we ought to increase the consumers of our *Eastern* manufactures!]

Mr. *Wright*, of New-York, presented the remonstrance of citizens of Rochester, N. Y. against the annexation of Texas.

Mr. *Upham*, of Vermont, presented the proceedings of a meeting of the citizens of Essex, Vt. against the annexation of Texas.

Mr. *Buchanan*, of Pennsylvania, presented the resolutions of a meeting in Philadelphia, in *favor* of the annexation of Texas.

[This meeting is stated in the Philadelphia papers to have been so small that it could not be found by those who were in search of it.]

Mr. B. also presented a remonstrance of citizens of Alleghany, Pa. against the annexation of Texas.

Two memorials against any alteration of the tariff, were presented. An executive message in writing was delivered by the hands of John Tyler, jr.

[THIS WAS THE TEXAS TREATY.]

On motion of Mr. *Archer*, the Senate went into executive session; the galleries were cleared, and the doors closed.

[The reading of the treaty and accompanying documents occupied about three hours and a half. They were ordered to be printed confidentially. It is *supposed* that a bad measure was never presented in a worse shape.—Mr. Calhoun has been heard to express deep disappointment at the reception his work met, and magnanimously lays the blame to Upshur, who he says managed the affair in the shockingest manner from the beginning. It is further supposed that the Senate will not *act* upon the subject for some time.]

TUESDAY, April 23.

Mr. Buchanan presented a memorial from the religious Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, strongly remonstrating against the annexation of Texas.

Mr. B. said, as this paper emanated from a highly respectable association, known everywhere, and esteemed wherever known, he hoped the Senate would indulge him by ordering it to be printed.

Mr. *Haywood*, of North Carolina, rose to inquire if they were to print all these private memorials sent to the Senate?

Mr. *Buchanan*. If the senator objected, that was enough; and the memorial must go to the committee on printing. He did not presume, however, there could be any objection to the request, coming as it did from so extensive, and so worthy an association.

Mr. *Wright*, of New-York, concluded his speech on the tariff.

[I did not hear this speech, but it is said to have been like a magnetic needle very *tremulous*, and that it pointed as near as it could *North* and *South*; and farther, that it was not satisfactory to the *Calhoun* men.]

The post-office bill was taken up, and on motion of Mr. *Evans*, the requirement that editors should keep a list of all papers sent by mail, noting the date and the post-offices, when and where deposited, was stricken out. A motion to restore the old franking privilege with the limitation to half ounce letters in writing, was made by Mr. *Archer*, of Virginia.

WEDNESDAY, April 24.

Mr. *Evans*, of Maine, presented a remonstrance from citizens of Maine, against the annexation of *Texas*.

Mr. *Crittenden*, of Kentucky, presented a remonstrance from citizens of Ohio, against the annexation of *Texas*.

Mr. *Tappan*, of Ohio, presented the remonstrance of citizens of Bainbridge, Ohio, without distinction of party, against the annexation of *Texas*.

Mr. *Walker*, of Mississippi, presented proceedings of a meeting in Philadelphia, in favor of the annexation of *Texas*.

The post office-bill was taken up, and Mr. Archer's amendment, which he somewhat modified, but which was substantially a revival of the privilege of franking letters as well as receiving them free during the recesses of Congress, was discussed. It was opposed as incompatible with the scheme of cheap postage demanded by the people.

Mr. *Sevier*, of Arkansas, (the member who said last year, in the Senate, that his constituents would not put up with a postmaster, who made them pay postage on newspapers,) supported the amendment with much vehemence, denouncing the whole bill as going to curtail the post-office accommodations of his constituents, declaring that they paid the present rates *cheerfully*, and sought no change. The change was wanted only by a set of *merchants*, and not by the *farmers* of his State.

Mr. *Archer's* amendment was rejected; *yeas* 17, *nays* 26. The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

Yeas.—Messrs. Allen, Atherton, Bayard, Buchanan, Choate, Clayton, Crittenden, Dayton, Evans, Fairfield, Francis, Henderson, Huntington, Jarnagin, Merrick, Miller, Morehead, Pearce, Porter, Simmons, Sturgeon, Tallmadge, Tappan, Upham, Walker, White, Woodbridge, Woodbury, Wright—29.

Nays.—Messrs. Atchison, Bagby, Barrow, Benton, Bresse, Colquitt, Foster, Fulton, Haywood, Huger, Mc Duffie, Mangum, Semple, Sevier—14.

[This is a very *sectional* vote: 12 of the 14 *nays* are *southern*. I wish to see reasonable efforts made in a kindly spirit by all for the interests and convenience of all; but the inequality of the burden of the post-office upon the North and South has become too monstrous to be endured]

THURSDAY, April 25.

Mr. *Johnson*, of Louisiana, announced in the usual manner, the death of Mr. *Bossier*, a member of the House from Louisiana, and the usual orders of adjournment, mourning, and attendance at the funeral, were adopted.

FRIDAY, April 26.

The Senate next attended the funeral services in the Hall of the House.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FRIDAY, April 19.

The western harbors-and-rivers-improvement bill was taken up, and the motion of Mr. Duncan to reconsider the vote whereby it was rejected, was carried; yeas 129, nays 46.

[The nays were all southern, except—Burke, Hall, Norris, and Reding, of New Hampshire; Parmenter and Williams, of Massachusetts; H. Seymour and J. Stewart, of Louisiana, and J. W. Davis, of Indiana.]

Mr. *White*, of Kentucky supported the bill, and deprecated the aid of Mr. *Thompson*, of Mississippi, in amending it, his amendments being designed to kill it.

Mr. *Wentworth*, of Illinois, spoke in favor of the bill, of the exposure of the western harbors, in case of war with Great Britain; of the wastefulness of selling off the machines for improving harbors and rivers, and asked if this Congress was to adjourn, and have it charged on a democratic House of Representatives that they had neglected these works—that they had put up these machines to be sold at auction, and their party to be charged as the ruinous party which had destroyed the commerce of this country? By God? I feel ashamed [roars of laughter] that such a charge should be made, (said Mr. W.) Now let this Congress, this House of Representatives, stop these works, sell out their dredging machines and other implements, and what would it prove to the country? As a member of the party, he would blush and hang his head.

[On the following day, Mr. W. explained that his expression was "My God," but this was considered rather apocryphal, for Mr. W. spoke with fury.]

Mr. *Hardin*, of Illinois, said that there were not half a dozen gentlemen in the House, who agreed with the gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. Rhett,] that all appropriations for harbors and rivers were unconstitutional. Even the gentleman's colleague, [Mr. Holmes,] admitted that the Mississippi and Ohio were constitutional rivers. He referred to appropriations in General Jackson's time for clearing out the channel of the Piscataqua river, for the survey of St. Francis, of Black, of White, and of the Arkansas rivers; and in 1838, during the administration of Mr. Van Buren, for the improvement of the Genesee, the Thames, and the Hudson rivers. These appropriations had been passed by "democratic" Congresses, (he said it in no spirit of reproach, but to show gentlemen that this subject was settled by all parties;) and how could these improvements have been constitutional, and been sanctioned by Jackson and Van Buren when they were in the presidential chair, and now be unconstitutional? The gentleman from Illinois, the long gentleman (Mr. *Wentworth*) he meant, [laughter,] was right when he said there was no difference in the West in opinion upon these improvements—that there was no distinction of parties upon this subject.

Mr. H. said that the Hudson had been considered a national river, as it was a link connecting the navigation of the lakes with the ocean; the Illinois river, which it was the object to strike out of this bill, sustained the same relation to these objects in the Northwest, as the Hudson in the Northeast.

Mr. *Belser*, of Alabama, premised that wishing to be just to the statesmen of all parts of the country, he would say that the restoration of Mr. Adams' exploded system of internal improvements by the democratic party, would be a great triumph for that gentleman.

[Was this to do justice to Mr. Adams, or to rally the party by appealing to the meanest jealousy?]

He opposed the bill, taking the same ground as Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, that *any appropriation* either for *harbors* or rivers was an infraction of the Constitution: $5000 had been put in the bill for the habor of *Mobile* to get votes in his section, but it would not get his. He differed from Mr. Holmes in his notion about the derivation of a power not in the Constitution, from the Ordinance of 1787.

Mr. *Holmes* rested his argument,—viz; that the States have the *proprietory right* in the rivers within their limits, and the United States only the *usufruct*; but in the Mississippi and Ohio the proprietory right and the usufruct both meet in the United States and belong to them.

Mr. *Hardin* would set Mr. Holmes right on the subject of proprietory right. The land patents of the United States give a title only as far as low water mark, thus reserving to the United States the proprietory right in the rivers.

Mr. *Belser* continued that he could see no difference between the Mississippi and Ohio, and any other rivers except on the ground of expediency and necessity for protecting the lives and property of citizens, in the same manner as the *acquisition of territory* to protect lives and property from aggression, was justifiable.

Mr. *Holmes* suggested that Mr. B. gave up the whole constitutional ground by the doctrine of the *Salus populi*.

Mr. *Belser* said that he would vote money for such a purpose as the annexation of *Texas*, because his doctrine of the expediency of protecting the lives, property, and rights of the *South*, and the interests of the whole country, would justify it! He argued that the refunding of *Jackson's* fine and the acquisition of Louisiana by *Jefferson*, were justifiable on the same ground. *The United States have guarantied to the Southern States the protection of slavery. It could not be protected without the annexation of Texas, and therefore it was necessary that Texas be annexed.*

[Mr. Belser is reckoned a frank and *honest* man, and certianly he does remind me of "the *honest* thieves," in the play. His remarks seemed decidedly uncomfortable to the Southern members generally. They were precisely what they all make *privately*; Aye, what the *Secretary of State* makes in justification of the treaty. This is a tremendous issue. It is an incredible one in *this* country.)

SATURDAY, April 20.

Mr. *Wentworth*, of Illinois, made a personal explanation, declaring that he had not, on the previous day, uttered in the House the profane expression, "By God," but only, *My God*.

Ten or twelve memorials against any alteration of the tariff, were presented.

Resolutions of the State of Georgia, in answer to those of Massachusetts, respecting slave representation, were presented by Mr. *Stephens*, of Georgia, and laid on the table and printed.

A bill for repairing and paving Pennsylvania Avenue, was reported, and the House refused to lay it on the table; *yeas* 74, *nays* 83.

[This is a subject of considerable interest here. The condition of the principal avenue in this city, is the greatest nuisance in this country, except the present House of Representatives. One cannot pass it without being obliged to eat his "peck of dirt," as Chesterfield said, "*all at once.*" This avenue was formerly well gravelled, with two rows of trees on *each* side. It was clean and satisfactory. In Gen. Jackson's reign, it was macadamized with a soft sort of stone, and the trees reduced to a row on each side. As this street is enormously wide, it now looks naked, and is as hot as *Sahara*, and has been about, as much obscured for six weeks by clouds of impalpable sand, as the African desert in a strong simoom. The dust, formed by the pulverized stone is so volatile, and so subtle, that it rises on a breath of wind, and penetrates, to their utmost recesses, every shop, parlor, and bedchamber. Never did I meet, in any city under the sun, so odious a nuisance in a great city thoroughfare. Early in the spring of this year, a bill passed the Senate almost unanimously, appropriating $40,000 to repair, re-pave, and *re-gravel* carriage-ways, and re-plant the *two* rows of trees on each side. This bill went to the House, and there it was discovered that political capital was to be made by saving the dear people's money, (in order, perhaps, that those *patriots*, who are so *anxious* about the people's money, may embezzle it when they get into office,) and the bill was rejected by a large majority. The people of the District would do well *to look at that vote*, and also at the one to entertain the present bill.]

This bill was referred to the committee on the whole.

The western harbors-and-rivers-improvement bill was taken up, and "Illinois" river stricken out; *yeas* 110, *nays* 75.

[This was to conciliate South Carolina.]

The bill was then passed; *yeas* 108, *nays* 72.

[The southern democrats, Burke, Reding, Norris, and Hale, of New Hampshire went against it to the last.]

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

Havana.—It is said that more than a hundred negroes have lately been shot, for having taken part in the projected insurrection. A man from the American brig Mary Pennell, from Portland, Me. was shot by a sentinel at the wharf, for not obeying immediately his order to take his boat from that place. The name of the murdered seaman was Michael Murphy, a naturalized citizen, aged twenty-two years.

The outrage was committed in the presence of hundreds of spectators of all nations, who denounced it as the foulest deed they ever witnessed.

In less than half an hour after it was committed every foreign vessel in port had its colors at half mast, and the same mark of indignation was repeated the next day.

The captain general of Cuba promptly arrested the authors of this outrage, and upon the representations of the American consul, the whole affair will undergo a legal investigation.

The slave trade of Havana is rapidly on the increase, having, it is reported, landed on that island within the last two months, upwards of 2000 Africans directly from the coast. It is stated that the captain general had refused all communication with the slave commissioners at that place in matters connected with their office.

Cuba.—Treatment of Slaves.—We are credibly informed that, on some of the sugar plantations in Cuba, the negroes are in a most miserable condition, not less than half the gang being sickly, covered with sores, and even cripples; the whip supplying nerve and strength, health and members. Unable to "trot" to the field, they are placed on carts and carried to it, there to creep and toil by the help of the lash. No description can exhibit the neglect, cruelty, and inhumanity, with which they are treated. In crop time they have no holyday, no Sunday, and no sleep.—*British Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

Ireland.—The house of lords have decided against the validity of Presbyterian marriages in Ireland, and a most formidable agitation is the result.

O'Connell is receiving great dinners in England, and is highly gratified by the enthusiastic reception he meets.

Murder.—Yesterday morning, about half past 6 o'clock a negro named Theodore, belonging to Mr. Chopard, in the employ of Mr. Talary, director of the Orleans Ball, was found in the ladies' saloon weltering, in his blood, having his throat cut in a most horrible manner. This is the same negro who was so severely beaten at the above establishment. It is believed this crime was committed through vengeance. The proprietor offers a liberal reward to whoever will give information leading to the discovery of the perpetrator of this outrage.—*N. O. Bee.*

This horrid act was done from revenge toward the *master*; the same as horses and cows are often killed.

Something New.—Mr. Graham of Oxford, Ohio, a member of the New School Cincinnati Presbytery, was indicted at its late session in Cincinnati, for heresy and immoral teachings. He is to be tried next October. The ground of the indictment is the pamphlet he recently published in defense of slavery as a Bible institution.

A Colored Gentleman at the Bar.—We learn from the Portland American, that General Fessenden, a day or two since, appeared before the district court, and moved that a *colored gentleman* from Boston, who was then with him, be admitted to practice as an attorney and counsellor at law in the courts of Maine. The motion was made under the new law, which makes all citizens of good moral character, eligible to admission. The necessary certificate was produced, but the court refused the motion on the ground that the candidate was not in fact a citizen. A successful application will probably be made at the October term, adds the American.—*Boston Post.*

NOTICES.

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This meeting will commence its sessions at 4 o'clock P. M. on Tuesday the 7th day of May, at Concert Hall No. 406 Broadway.

THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

Will be held at the Apollo Hall, No. 410 Broadway, on the same day—services to commence at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The members of the society, and the friends of the oppressed generally, are invited to attend, and to participate in the deliberations of the occasion. Many questions of great moment to the welfare of the country, and to the cause of freedom, will come up for discussion and disposal. It is desirable to secure a large representation from all parts of the country, and to avail ourselves of every means to forward the object of the society.

A record book for the names of persons who attend, will be open at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 143 Nassau street—where, also, cards of reference to boarding-houses can be obtained.

On behalf of the Society,

WM. P. POWELL, } *Com. of Ar-*
J. S. GIBBONS. } *rangement.*

Anti-Slavery and friendly papers will please copy.

THE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

☞ All the conventions which last two days, will begin at 1 o'clock, P. M. of the day first named. Where only one day is named, they will commence at 10 A. M.

After which, the same eloquent advocates of the slave's cause will make a tour through Bristol, and then through Essex county.

Northern Series.

Lenox—Wednesday and Thursday, May 1st and 2d.
Stockbridge—Friday and Saturday, 3d and 4th.

Messrs. E. D. Hudson, S. H. Gay, and Frederic Douglas, will be present.

☞ The friends of the cause, in the above named towns and their immediate vicinity, are urgently requested to take every means of giving the widest possible notice of these meetings. Let *each* one consider this *his own personal* duty. See to it, also, that convenient places for assembling are obtained, so as to secure large audiences. Let all that can, be present, especially those who are willing to take a part in the discussions; and thus, while they relieve the agents, give added interest to the debate. We mean to awaken the old, and create a new anti-slavery zeal throughout the commonwealth. The most important questions are to be discussed by the ablest and most devoted of the friends of the slave. We commend them to the hospitality of the friends everywhere, and hope that especially they will be aided in getting from place to place, to lessen the labor and expense of the whole undertaking. Any town which does not receive large printed placards to notify the meetings of the convention during its session, can be supplied by applying at 25 Cornhill.

WENDELL PHILLIPS,
Gen. Agent Mass. A. S. Society.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Dear friends and fellow laborers.—With hopeful hearts, we have commenced our preparations for our next annual fair, resolved that it shall be greatly superior to that of the last year. For the accomplishment of this purpose, we are dependent upon you. Will you not give us ample proof that we have not relied upon you in vain? You cannot need that we should offer you incentives to increased diligence and zeal in our common cause. The image of the suffering slave is vividly before your mental vision; and were you in any danger of forgetting the sad living picture, it would be frequently revived by some new odious manifestation of the slave power, or by the presence of the fugitive, crossing, in the haste of terror, your brighter path.

Nor need we present to you arguments in favor of this method of advancing our cause. You are aware that our fairs have been a source of great pecuniary profit, as the reports of the treasurer of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society show. The principal part of the profit derived from them have passed into the treasury of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, of which you are members. In asking your assistance, then, we are but asking you to aid our common cause, through the agencies which you have constituted. You have nobly responded to our calls, in other years. Have you not commenced our second decade with renewed ardor and increased self-sacrifice? Will you not evince it by immediately beginning, with us, preparations for the fair of 1844? Labor, each according to your ability or inclination, but let each do something. All marketable commodities, useful or ornamental, will be gratefully received. If our contributors will send, with their manufactures, a statement of the cost of the materials of each, the committee estimating the labor expended on them, will be careful to prevent any article from being sold at a price below its value. A very large part of the articles sold, yield a *fair profit*. If any of our friends in the country, will come and superintend the sale of their articles, they will be most welcome, and their aid truly valuable.

We are sorry to say that our poultry stall was not as well furnished as usual last year. Will not abolitionists who are preparing produce for their own tables or the market, remember, and give us a practical proof that they remember the physically and spiritually starved slave? Give to him, as God hath given to you, freely, abundantly.

We advise all who intend to work in this department, (and what abolitionist in Eastern Pennsylvania does not) so begin at once to do something, and enlist the sympathies and efforts of as many others as possible.

We are sure, dear friends, that none of us will regret having done too much, but we may regret having done too little for the emancipation of two and a half millions of slaves.

On behalf of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

Anne M. Hopper,	*Maria M. Davis,*
Mary Grew,	*Emma Parker,*
Sarah McKim,	*Matilda Casey,*
Phebe Earle,	*Taressa Hallowell,*
Hulda Justice,	*Elizabeth J. Neall,*
Susan Dorsey,	*Rebecca Stackhouse,*
Gertude H. Burleigh,	*Sarah Pugh,*
Harriet Snyder,	*Mary Shaw,*
Margaret Griscom,	*Sarah Dorsey*
Sarah M. Douglass,	*Margaret Jones,*
Harriet D. Purvis,	*Margaretta Forten,*
Hetty Burr,	*Esther Reckless,*
Mary T. Stickney,	*Jannette Jackson,*
Martha T. Carman,	*Elizabeth Carman,*
Mary Earle,	*Lydia Gillingham,*
Sidney Ann Lewis,	*Hannah Lee Stickney,*
Sarah Lewis,	*Susan Grew,*
	Susan Shaw.

PHILADELPHIA, April 23d, 1844.

KENNET ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A meeting of the Kennett Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the Kennett Meeting House on 7th day, 4th of 5th month, at 10 o'clock, P. M.

J. B. PHILLIPS, *Sec'y.*

4th mo. 22, 1844.

THE ELEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

This annual effort for the sustentation of the anti-slavery cause, will be made in Amory Hall, Boston, commencing on Tuesday, December 24th, 1844. By its means it is, that the debts of the cause, last year, were discharged; so that it is, at this moment, free to put its unencumbered strength, in the prosecution of THE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS, through the medium of which, this appeal reaches you. If you wish slavery to cease, you cannot more effectually aid in its extinction, than by

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

LINES,

Addressed to a Young Lady, "NOT an Abolitionist."

If thou wilt take truth for thy path,
And freedom for thy star;
Nor tremble, when the clouds of wrath
Come darkling from afar;
If thou wilt let that heart of thine,
Go forth by impulses divine,
In love to all the world,
This life shall wear new life to thee,
And thy high thoughts float glad and free,
Like banners all unfurled.

Then floods of warm, celestial light,
Shall o'er thy being roll,—
Angels shall write upon thy heart,
As on some sacred scroll;
And angel music shall come down
And dwell within thy soul!
That soul shall seem an heavenly isle,
Set floating in God's summer smile—
An Eden, fresh and fair,
Into which, His own hand shall bring
Each sweet, and rich, and glorious thing,—
And new affections shall upspring,
And bloom all brightly there!

What godlike powers to man are given!
Who shall his sphere confine?
A worm—yet glories of high Heaven,
Along his being shine!
He struggles 'till clay-chains are riven,
And he is *all* divine!
He sings—with free hand strikes the lyre,
In sadness, or in mirth,
And melts to tears, or wakes to smiles,
The rapt and list'ning earth!
He speaks—his words are piercing swords,
Sheathed in the human mind,—
He speaks, and his electric thoughts
Go thrilling through mankind!
He acts—thrones tremble into dust,
And, from chaotic strife,
New empires, with one mighty bound,
Leap into glorious life!

Yes *man* may bear the world along,
On tides of eloquence and song.
His name may be a magic word,
Kings sink to men, when it is heard,
And ancient kingdoms' doom be sealed—
He may be *death*, in battle-field,
Wisdom, in council hall;
But *angels* smile in bowers of light,
And *fiends* turn pale in realms of night,
When words of freedom, truth, and right,
From *Woman's* weak lips fall!
For woman ever shunneth strife;
Amid the sunny scenes of life,
Her soul delights to dwell;
She shrinks, when swords are flashing high,
When armed hosts go sweeping by,
The *echo* of the battle-cry,
Comes o'er her like a knell;—
But when the wrong shouts o'er the right,
When fiercest, deadliest is the fight,
She girds her armor on!
Joy to the true! they hail her form—
The rainbow of the battle storm!
Their blows fall fast, their hearts beat warm,
And victory is won!

As she of Orleans, took the sword,
When England's minions, horde on horde,
Spread ruin o'er her land;
And made France the invader's grave,
Or sent him howling o'er the wave,
"Foiled by a woman's hand."
As Sanagopa's dark-haired maid,
Led onward by her lover's shade,
Sent forth from where that lover sank,
On yielding front, and reeling flank,
The booming shot of death!
And scattered the thick serried rank,
As by a whirlwind's breath!

Of such, is formed, in this our day,
A firm, heroic band—
They could not, *dare* not, longer stay
Beside their hearths, all still and dumb,—
For Right, for God, they come, they come,
The daughters of our land!

Out on the free, rejoicing winds,
See them their banner fling!
No *stripes* are on its sacred folds,
No *stains* unto it cling,—
'Tis pure, as is a cherub's soul,
White, as an angel's wing.

What wonder, if amid the rush,
And rapture of the strife,
They do forget that curtaining shades
Should veil their path of life?
Forget, that 'tis a *woman's* fate,
That o'er their being rests—
Forget, that 'tis a *woman's* heart
That throbs beneath their breasts;
Forget, that 'tis a *woman's* soul
That hates oppression's base control,
And loathes the tyrant's rod;
And only feel, and only know,
By its high hopes, and heavenly glow,
That 'tis the breath of God!

SARAH ANN CLARKE.

NEW BRIGHTON, Pa.

TEXAS!—THE VOICE OF NEW ENGLAND.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Up the hillside, down the glen,
Rouse the sleeping citizen,
Summon out the might of men!

Like a lion crouching low,
Like a night-storm rising slow,
Like the tread of unseen foe,

It is coming—it is nigh!
Stand your homes and altars by!
On your own free hearthstones die!

Clang the bells in all your spires!
On the gray hills of your sires
Fling to Heaven your signal fires!

From Wachuset, lone and bleak,
Unto Berkshire's tallest peak,
Let the flaming heralds speak!

O, for God and Duty stand,
Heart to heart, and hand with hand,
Round the old graves of your land!

Whoso shrinks and falters now,
Whoso to the yoke would bow,
Brand the craven on his brow.

We have only left us space
For a free and fearless race—
None for traitors false and base.

Like the angel's voice sublime,
Heard above a world of crime,
Crying of the end of Time,

In the proud ear of the South,
With one heart and with one mouth,
Utter Freedom's mighty oath:

"Make our Union-bond a chain—
We will snap its links in twain,
We will stand erect again!

"Give us bright though broken rays,
Rather than eternal haze
Clouding o'er the full-orbed blaze.

"Keep your land of sun and bloom,
Only leave to Freedom room,
For her forge, and plough, and loom.

"Take your slavery-blackened vales,
Give us but our own free gales,
Blowing on our thousand sails.

"Live, as paupers, mean and vile,
On the fruits of unpaid toil,
Locusts of your glorious soil!

"Live, if it be life to dwell
In your tyrant citadel,
Mined beneath by fires of hell!

"*Our* bleak hills shall bud and blow,
Vines our rocks shall overgrow,
Plenty in our valleys flow.

"And, when vengeance lights your skies,
Hither shall ye turn your eyes,
As the damned on Paradise!

"We but ask our rocky strand,
Freedom's true and brother band,
Freedom's brown and honest hand,

"Valleys by the slave untrod,
And the Pilgrim's rugged sod
Blessed of our father's God!"

Miscellany.

THE GLASS DECANTER.

"There is one thing we have not got," said a newly-married wife, wiping down the shelf of her nice little closet, which certainly seemed well filled with all things necessary for comfort and order.

"What is it, Fanny?" asked James, the husband, still lingering at the breakfast table.

"A decanter. We have nothing to put our liquor in, when we want to treat our friends. We certainly must have a decanter."

This begins to sound like a strange "must have," now-a-days, but it was not exactly so, when Fanny was married. James put his hand in his pocket, and drew out some change, which he counted over to see whether it was enough for the purchase.

"I'd buy a good one," said Fanny, "while I was about it; not thin glass, that will break in a minute, but a good, handsome cut-glass one; it will be cheaper in the end, you may depend upon it." Fanny, perhaps, was a little ambitious.

James thought he had not quite money enough in his pocket, but he should finish a job about noon, the wages of which, he guessed would not only get the decanter, but fill it with spirit. Then James went forth to his work.

What a neat two story house did James and Fanny Farmer live in! Besides, it was all built by James himself. Every season of leisure, be it ever so short, he betook himself to "his spot," as he called it, where he worked all the more industriously, as the next day, or next hour, might find him sought by any one who wanted a good piece of joinery done. There was quite a patch of ground around it, where potatoes, and corn, and beans, and several beds of other vegetables, had ample room to grow, enough for summer eating, and winter eating too. James had married Fanny, his first love, and she was in every way, very young as she was, a fitting helpmeet for one who meant to get along in the world. What better prospects had James and Fanny?

Not many nights after, when James came home, he drew forth from his green baize jacket, the best looking decanter he could find at Hobbs's, as he declared. He held it up before Fanny, and then held it before the candle, then turned it this way and that, to see how clear and nice were its liquor contents.

"Let's try it," said James; "Hobbs said it was the very best; hand me a tumbler, Fanny."

"Oh, no, James, it's not for us, it's for company—let us save it," replied the economical wife.

"Only once—besides, you are tired; you have had a large wash. I should like a swallow myself, and I know it would do you good."

So, with such reasons, what wonder that he went to the closet, took a tumbler, in which he put two or three spoonfuls of their best sugar, poured out a suitable quantity of Holland gin, to which he added some hot water from the tea-kettle. "It's excellent, Fanny," said James, stirring it round and then taking a sip—"excellent toddy;" and he offered it to his wife.

"No, James, you drink first; I like the leavings best." And Fanny rested from the folding of her clothes.

"Ah, you want the sugar in the bowl, I see. Why, Fanny, you are sweet enough;" and James quaffed down the smoking beverage.

"It seems to me, you have not left much for me," said Fanny, smilingly, taking the tumbler, "but it is as much as I want;" and taking the spoon, she leisurely finished the remainder. This glass of toddy from the new decanter! it was hot—it was sweet—it was good—it was refreshing—it was not too little, or too much—it tasted just right. What harm could this ever do this happy couple, as they sat there toe to toe, by the bright, cheerful blaze? Ah! it was the harm of a *fatal first step* toward ruin. No danger *seemed* lurking near; but a foe had entered the house; with noiseless step, and slow, was it creeping its way already into the life-blood of youth, health, and joy.

Who can describe the joy of those young people when a baby was given to their care! The parents, with parents' fondness, felt that no baby was like theirs—such eyes, such hair, so fat, so knowing! Fanny's soul was full of joy. Her husband and child filled up her heart. With them, what else had she to wish for? A shadow sometimes crossed Fanny's path. At first it was only like the shadow of a summer cloud upon the green fields—a strange foreboding, like the far-off moaning of a coming storm. Among all the increasing wants of the little household, there was nothing that so often wanted filling as the glass decanter.

Once, when Fanny's fancies assumed the form of resolutions—on hearing the distant step of her husband in the yard, she arose, with the sleeping baby in her arms, went to her keeping-room closet, and taking up the decanter from its prominent place on the lower shelf, she put it in the little cupboard beneath, and turned its key. Fanny returned to her rocking-chair with a palpitating heart. James presently came into the kitchen and replenished the fire beneath the boiling dinner; then he bent lovingly over the baby, and took up its little fingers in his; then did he saunter carelessly into the keeping-room, and she heard the close door creak upon its hinges. Fanny trembled; she felt she would have given anything to undo that she had just done. "How suspicious he must think me! how little confidence in him! what will he think?" and she thought over all he had done for her. Fanny wondered how she should busy herself, that she might not notice his return. She aroused the baby, and began to toss it in her arms, and talk to it a pretty baby talk, which mothers know how to use. When her husband came back, he passed through the room without speaking—not one word for the little baby. Fanny felt reproached. About half an hour before dinner, James re-entered the kitchen, and took a low seat by the fire. The baby crept up toward his feet, but he took no notice of its playful chucklings.

"Are you sick, James?" asked Fanny, placing her hand on his shoulder.

"I am not very smart," he answered, sulkily.

"What will you have? You have taken cold, it's so very raw. Let me make you a good bowl of sage tea," said Fanny, kindly.

"Sage tea!" echoed the husband, scornfully. I don't want any old woman's nostrums for me." He rested his elbows upon his knees, and put his head between his hands. Fanny pitied him.

"What will you take, James?" asked Fanny again. "Shan't I make you something hot?"

"I guess you had better. Is there anything in the house?" and he looked up with great interest.

"Well, poor James is sick, and he must have it," thought Fanny. And she strove hard to think there was a good reason why she should unlock the little cupboard, and offer that cup to her husband's lips, which she feared and dreaded he might take himself. Ah! Fanny wanted a firm heart. It was not long before a gleam of joy broke upon Fanny's spirits.—The contents of the decanter was soon emptied, and James took it away to be refilled. The next day it was not in its accustomed place upon the shelf—the tumblers were alone, and through the livelong week exhibited no marks of sugar, or brandy. "James sees his danger, and he has put the decanter away," thought Fanny, with a thankful heart. The cares of her family seemed relieved seven-fold; her voice was again caroling about the house.

James had a small poultry-yard, and there he kept his hens and eggs, enough not only to supply his own family, but occasionally to sell to his neighbors.—Fanny used to take her little boy out to the barn, and then sit him down beside the hens, to the great delight of the little fellow, while she went hunting after the eggs. It so happened that about this time, she determined to make for James his favorite pudding. To the barn she hied for eggs. Among the hay, she espied a hole, and hoped it might prove a new nest. Down she thrust her hand. She indeed grasped something, which made her start—but not a hen, not a chicken, not an egg; no, it was something which took her strength away, and she felt like laying down to die. Poor Fanny! it was the glass decanter, which she drew forth from this hiding-place in the barn, half-filled, with what? the deadliest fire-water, New-England rum. Fanny forgot her pudding, her boy, even, and she sat there and wept.

And now must we pass years of Fanny's life.—Every prophetic eye saw what destiny awaited her. Many children were born to them. The two eldest she laid in an early grave. The mother wept bitter tears. But greater sorrows than these, had Fanny Farmer. The yearly estrangement of her husband's affections, was far more difficult to bear.—For a long time, Fanny strove not to believe it; and for a long time it was unfelt and unperceived by any one besides herself, that another was dearer to her husband, than the Fanny of his early manhood.—Another he pressed to his bosom; another he fancied could gladden his spirits, and lessen his cares, and lighten his burdens, and restore his health; for another, would he leave his family, rise up early, and set up late; for another, he would sacrifice his wife, and neglect his children. Yes, Fanny must acknowledge a rival of superior power, and of increasing influence. For a long time, neighbors thought Fanny was his darling; and it was not until the Farmers seemed to be getting down in the world, that people began to grow suspicious. It was not until James Farmer lost his smart, manly bearing, neglected his garden and fences, was no longer seen at church, suffered his children to go threadbare and destitute, that the whole truth come out—James Farmer loved his decanter better than he did his wife. How much was Fanny to be pitied! but she made no complaint. A sad and careworn expression sat upon her pale cheek, and sunken eye, as everything around bespoke hers the drunkard's home—and who does not know the sad peculiarities of a drunkard's home?

So things went on, until James, the second son, named in memory of the eldest born, that died, grew to twelve years old, and a fine, manly boy was he. Two years before, James went away to live. That gentleman's family now being broken up, he came home awhile to wait for other employment. It was not long before Hobbs wanted a boy to tend store for him—Hobbs, the dram-seller, whose little shop at the corner had been for years, a noted stand for hosts of topers, both old and young; which had manufactured more hard drinkers than any other shop in the country, and had made its owner rich, upon other men's follies. Hobbs cast his eye upon young James Farmer. "A shrewd little fellow," thought Hobbs, "I can get him for nothing;" and he gave an inward chuckle, as he thought of the long account run up against the Farmer estate. He concluded to go over, and talk about the affair with the boy's mother.

"A fine looking lad is that James of yours," said old Hobbs, seating himself in a chair, which his liquor had made ricketty.

"A good boy," answered the mother, sadly.

"Well," proceeded Hobbs, a very little embarrassed, "well—perhaps you know there is an account owing me. Now I don't want to be hard, but it's bad not to get one's honest debts. Perhaps you will let James come over to the shop, and help rub off old scores."

"I did not know there were any honest debts owed there," said Fanny, a faint color mounting her cheeks, as she thought of the enticements he had used towards his drinking customers. "I hardly remember when I have bought anything there."

"Your husband can remember, I guess," exclaimed Hobbs, angrily; "he is my customer, and if I am not paid up soon, you must suffer the consequences." With a house still over her head, Fanny had contrived to get along. She feared, at no distant day, it might be drunk away, and she dreaded so inexorable a creditor as Mr. Hobbs had always proved to be, towards his miserable victims.

"I will talk to Jemmy about it," replied Fanny, humbly. "What would you allow him?"

"Oh, I shan't be hard with him; send the boy to me;" and Hobbs gladly vanished from the house. He could meet the oaths or the rage of the wretched crew which frequented his establishment, with an unflinching and unrepenting spirit; but the presence of a stricken woman palsied his heart. When Jemmy came home, his mother told him of the visit.

"Never, mother," exclaimed James, with energy, "will I go and deal out rum for my father, or anybody's else father. No liquor shall pass through my hands. "Why, mother, I am a soldier in the cold-water army!"

"But if father gave you the decanter, to go and buy some, you would have to go," said a little brother.

"No, indeed, I would not," answered James.

"Then father would beat you," said little Fanny, shrinking.

"I would be beaten to death, rather than break my pledge," cried the heroic boy.

"Obey your parents," said the elder Fanny. Ah! the mother's spirit was crushed, and she was ready to make almost any compromise, rather than arouse the beastly rage of the husband and father. Jemmy said nothing. It so happened, that about evening, James Farmer came home, and told his son to run down to Hobbs's, and bring up his decanter. The mother trembled for his refusal, and the little ones began to crowd together in fear. The boy took his cap, and walked off. He entered the shop, just as the old man had filled the decanter.

"You are James Farmer, I suppose—well, I want your services in the shop," said Hobbs, in a tone which was meant to be pleasant.

"I come to get the decanter," said the boy.

"And I want you in the shop," declared Hobbs, testily, placing it on the counter.

"I cannot come, sir," replied James, firmly. "I am a soldier in the cold-water army, and I cannot serve the shop where my father was made a drunkard."

The old man turned blue with rage, while conscience told him how true the accusation was.

James seized the decanter, and went off—not homeward—O, no—for he was a cold-water soldier. He ran to a neighboring well. On the green grass which grew around it—for everything looks fresh and green, where pure water is—he poured out the destroying liquor. Drawing up a bucket of water, he carefully cleansed and rinsed the decanter; then, filling it with this wholsesome beverage, he bottled it up, and bent his steps homeward.

"Father," exclaimed the fearless child, entering the bedroom where the enfeebled parent was about undressing, "I have brought you some beautiful drink. I could bring only this, because I am a soldier in the cold-water army."

"A soldier in what!" inquired the father, looking round with his bleared eye.

"In the cold-water army, father. We are fighting against King Alcohol; and oh, father, do become a temperate man, and join us—do, father!" There was something in the almost agonized earnestness of the boy, that touched the parent's heart.

"Do, father!" how it rung in his ears the livelong night. True, he gruffly motioned the child away, but there were other things he could not so easily motion away. His mind was alert, and he had nothing to stupefy it—nothing with which to moisten his parched lips and burning tongue—nothing to quench the almost unquenchable thirst, but the pure water of his well-filled decanter. The first object that his eye descried at the gray and early dawn, was his decanter. He grasped it in his quivering hands—no liquor fumes stimulated his appetite or his senses. How he longed for something to satisfy the unnatural cravings of the stomach!—Again he looked at the decanter—no hope there—it was only water, water, water! He glared around the room. How changed was everything in the once happy room—everything else but the glass decanter! And what a long train of misery had it uncorked in his family. He looked at it again—it seemed to wear a deformed and hideous aspect—vipers and serpents hissing and stinging, seemed to come forth from it—then would it reproach, and mock him with cruel mockings. That dreadful delirium was creeping on the once athletic frame of James Farmer, which is known only to the toper! He shouted aloud for "drink, drink, drink!" For days and nights did Fanny and her son watch over the sick man's couch. They bathed his burning brow, and cooled his parched mouth, with healing and refreshing water.

"Do, father, do!" came first upon his memory, when clear memory returned. "Oh, my God, help me keep it!" cried the sick man, as James, true to his soldier's trust, brought the paper to his father's bedside, there to enrol his name to the cold-water pledge.

"And here, father," said James, going to the closet, "here is a decanter filled with cold, fresh water; will you not seal your pledge to total abstinence, by some of this beautiful beverage?"

"O, let us smash the decanter to pieces!" cried little Fanny.

"Yes, and let me go and bury it," added the little brother.

"Let us hide it somewhere from our sight," said Fanny, the mother."

"That is all which is left of our early house-keeping, Fanny—let it remain, always filled with water, a witness of my reform, as it was a companion of my degradation," said the penitent and reformed father. An there the decanter stands, upon his table, filled from the crystal spring, an abiding memorial of the principles of a cold-water family.

SOME GAINS AND SWEETS OF INVALIDISM.

BY HARRIET MARTINEAU.

The true and welcome ultimate shelter of the celebrated is in great interests—great objects. If they use the power their fame puts into their hands for the furtherance of any of the great ends for which Providence is operating, they find themselves by degrees in possession once more of the external freedom, the internal quiet, the genuine privacy of soul, which they believed forfeited forever, while the consciousness of the gaze of the world was upon them. They read what is said of themselves in print just as if it was said of any other person, if it be laudatory; and with a quieter feeling still, if it be adverse, as I shall presently describe.

It is sometimes said, that it is a pity, when great men do not happen to die on the completion of the one grand achievement of their lives, instead of taming down the effect, by living on afterward, like common men; that Clarkson should have died on the abolition of the slave-trade; Howard after his first or second journey; Scott on the publication of his best romance—and so on. But there is a melo-dramatic air about such a wish, which appears childish to moral speculators. We are glad to have Clarkson still, to honor freshly in his old age. We see more glory about the head of John Quincy Adams, contending as a representative in Congress, for popular rights, than he ever wore as President of the United States. We should be glad that Rowland Hill should live and work as a common man, for a quarter of a century after the complete realization of his magnificent boon to society. In truth, we behold great men entering early upon their heaven, when we see them tranquilly retired, or engaged in common labors, after their most memorable task is accomplished. The worthiest of celebrated men, would, I believe, be found, if their meditations could be read, anticipating with the highest satisfaction, as the happiest part of their prospects beyond the grave, their finding a level condition once more—being encompassed by equals—or, as the popular preacher puts it, starting fair from the new post. Such being the natural desire of simple hearts, there is a pleasure to spectators in seeing them, while still here, encompassed with fellowship—not set above, nor apart, though enjoying the natural recompenses of their deeds.

The words, "natural recompenses," remind me of another gain conferred on us by our condition—scarcely separable, perhaps, from those I have mentioned—from the extinction of all concern about our future in this world, and the ordinary objects of pursuit; but yet to us so conspicuous, so heartfelt, as to demand record as a blessing by itself. I mean the conviction of the hollowness of all talk of *reward* for conduct; the conviction of the essential blessedness of goodness. What can appear more trite? Where is the church or chapel in which it is not preached every Sunday? Yet we, who heard and believed through all the Sundays and week days of many years, seem but now to have *known* this truth. Our knowledge is now tested by the indifference with which we behold men struggling for other objects, under a sort of insanity, as it appears to us, while the interests which animate us to sympathy are those of the pure in heart, seeing God before they die; and the dread which chills our souls is for the multitude who live in passion, and die in moral insensibility. To us it appears so obviously the supreme good to have a healthy soul serenely reposing in innocence, and spontaneously working for God and man, that all divergence of aims from this end seems madness, and all imagery of rewards for moral desert the most profane of mockeries. It is a matter of wonder to us, that we ever conceived of royalty otherwise than as a title to compassion; of hereditary honors, as desirable; of fame, as an end; and we are apt to wonder at others, in their turn, that they do not perceive the most blessed of our race to be the moral reformers of each age, passing "from strength to strength," although wearing out in their enterprise, and the placid well-doers, whether high or lowly in their service. The appendages themselves of such a state—the esteem, honor, and love, which wait upon moral desert—almost vanish from our notice, when we are contemplating the infinite blessedness of the peace of a holy heart.

Then we have (not to dwell on a matter already spoken of) a peculiar privilege in the peculiar loveliness which the image of death assumes to us. In our long leisure, all sweet and soothing associations of rest—of relief from anxiety and wearing thought—of re-entrance upon society—(a society how sanctified!) of the realization of our best conceptions of what is holy, noble, and perfect—all affections, all aspirations gather round the idea of death, till it recurs at all our best moments, and becomes an abiding thought of peace and joy. When we hear or read of the departure of any one we know—of the death even of the youngest or the most active—a throb of congratulatory feeling is our first emotion, rather than the shock which we used to experience, and which we now see sustained by those around us.—Reflection, or tidings of survivors, may change our view; but so does the image of death become naturally endeared to us, that our first spontaneous thought is, of favor to those who are selected for it. I am not recommending this impression as rational, but intimating it as characteristic of a peculiar condition. It is no slight privilege, however, to have that great idea which necessarily confronts every one of us, all clothed with loveliness instead of horror, or mere mystery. Till now, we never knew how any anticipation may be incessantly filling with sweetness.

It may be doubted whether there is a more heartfelt peace experienced at any point of our moral progress than in the right reception of calumnious injury. In the immediate return from the first recoil, into the mood of forgiveness, there is something heavenly even to the novice. In the compassion for one's calumniator there is pain; and it is a pain which increases with experience of life, and with our insight into the peril and misery of an unjust and malicious habit of mind; but in the act of pitying forgiveness, there is a solace so sweet as to make one wonder how long men will be in adopting this remedy for their injuries. Any one who has been ambitious, and with success, will, if he be wise, be ready to declare that not the first breath of fame was to him so sweet as the first emotions of forgiveness, the first stirrings of the love of enemies, after his earliest experience of the calumny by which all public effort is sure to be assailed.

FOR HOUSEKEEPERS AND FARMERS.

Scarlet Fever.—At Hartford, Connecticut, the experiment of covering the body with sliced onions, and renewing them often, till the fever subsides, has been tried with great effect, in cases of scarlet fever. The onions draw the fever to the surface, and imbibe it to some extent.

Cure for the Epilepsy.—Lately, a woman passing through the streets of Glasgow, was suddenly attacked by a fit of epilepsy. Among the persons attracted to the spot, was a young sailor, who, on seeing the woman, called out for some grains of coarse salt, which he forced into her mouth. This immediately had the effect of restoring the woman's sensations and speech, and her convulsion was at once put a stop to. The young man, who has been at Madagascar, and other foreign places, says he has seen this remedy applied to persons in epilepsy, with great success.

Early Grass.—Animals, when first allowed to run on grass, should be well supplied with salt, to correct the frequently too purgative effect of the fresh feed. Look particularly after the young things, and don't allow them to follow their dams into the field till the ground becomes dry, warm, and firm.

To prevent Moulding in Books, Ink, Paste, and Leather.—Collectors of books will not be sorry to learn that a few drops of oil of lavender will insure their libraries from this pest. A single drop of the same, will prevent a pint of ink from mouldiness, for any length of time. Paste may be kept from mould entirely, by this addition, and leather is also effectually secured from injury by the same agency.

Corn and Crows.—As the season for corn-planting is approaching, it may be of service to know how to prevent the depredations of crows:

"Take after the rate of one pound of copperas to a bushel of seed-corn; dissolve in water, and sprinkle the corn with it; the corn may at the same time be rolled in plaister."

This experiment has been now tried for three years, with great success, by a veteran farmer, and he permits me to hand it to you for publication.—*Springfield paper.*

The Curculio.—This insect is well known as a great destroyer of plum trees. This troublesome creature will never venture on a tree, unless it can burrow instantly into the earth, as soon as they drop. Therefore, a pavement of flat stones or bricks around the tree, as far as the limbs extend, is a sure protection against this weevil. Plum trees love a marine atmosphere, and flourish best near the seashore.

THE APPLE.

It is now satisfactorily determined that apples are a most profitable crop for feeding domestic animals; hence, larger orchards are becoming desirable.—Those on good land, will occupy less, if placed in the hexagonal form, or in equilateral triangles, thus:

0 0 0 0 0 0 0
0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
0 0 0 0 0 0 0
0 0 0 0 0 0 0

For several years after young trees are transplanted, the ground should be constantly cultivated.—This is easily performed, so long as the trees remain small. When they become large, an occasional cultivation, with intervening crops of grass, may be sufficient for extensive orchards.

It is a common practice to neglect not only cultivation, but *pruning*. Irregular, and stunted trees, and small, and inferior fruit, are the consequence. These may be prevented by moderate, frequent, and judicious pruning, if the trees are not already old. The object is to diminish the thick growth, to increase the vigor of the branches, and to admit light and air. The best, and most thrifty branches, should be left, the distance asunder being as nearly equal as possible, and forming a well-shaped top. The branches should be cut closely in pruning, but not so much so as to occasion a broad wound. If the wounds are an inch or more in diameter, they should be protected by a thick coat of paint, or better, by a mixture of brickdust, or whiting, with warm tar.—This prevents cracking, admission of moisture, and the consequent rotting of the branches. Pruning should never be done in spring, when the sap is flowing, but may be performed either in winter, or in summer. A sharp saw is the best tool for removing large limbs.

There are many orchards of ungrafted, and comparatively worthless fruit, which might be greatly improved by converting the tops to good varieties. This is usually done by grafting into limbs, two or three inches in diameter, but it is more difficult to perform, and the young shoots are much more liable to be broken off by wind, than when grafted into small branches. A sufficient number of young and thrifty shoots may be obtained in one season, for grafting, by cutting off a few of the most central, and larger limbs, when fresh ones will spring up vigorously in their place.

In giving a short list of apples, it is to be remembered that there are many good varieties, and that some must therefore be omitted; and to some, such a list may seem badly selected, in consequence of the many inferior fruits, falsely called by the name of excellent varieties. The following list may assist the cultivator in selection:

Summer Fruit.—Yellow Harvest, Early Sweet Bough, Early Red Juneating, Summer Pearmain, Sine Qua Non, and Buffington's Early.

Autumn Fruit.—Belle-bonne, Strawberry Apple, Summer Queen, Ramboo, Autumnal Swaar, Gravenstein, and Fall Pippin.

Winter Fruit.—Bellflower, Swaar, Peck's Pleasant, Esopus Spitzenberg, Jonathan, Ortley, Baldwin, Rhode Island Greening, Ribston Pippin, Newtown Pippin, Roxbury Russet, Tallman Sweeting, and Northern Spy.*

To those who have but small gardens, the following are more particularly recommended: Yellow Harvest, Bough, Sine Qua Non, Strawberry Apple, Gravenstein, Fall Pippin, Swaar, Baldwin, Spitzenberg, Jonathan, and Northern Spy.

The Borer.—This is an insect which enters, and perforates the wood of the tree at, or a little below the surface of the earth. In western New-York, they rarely prove destructive to the apple tree.—They may be taken out by introducing into the hole they have made, a flexible barbed wire, or punched to death in their holes by a flexible twig.†

The Canker.—This is sometimes termed *bitter rot*. It is ascribed to various causes. By some, it is considered as arising from neglected culture—poorness, or wetness of soil, or exposed situation. But the most probable, or the *immediate* cause, appears to be injudicious pruning and bruises. Decay generally commences at the wounds thus caused, and extends till the tree dies. To prevent it, never prune in spring, while the sap is in active motion, and protect all wounds of much size, from air and moisture, by a coat of paint, or of tar and brickdust. The only way to cure trees already diseased, is to cut away all affected parts, and apply a suitable covering to the wound. It rarely proves a serious evil in this country.

The American Blight (so called) is caused by the *aphis lanata*, a small insect, so thickly covered with thin white hair, as to appear enveloped in fine cotton. It is furnished with a small bristle-like beak, with which it perforates the bark of the branches. Excrescences rise, the limb grows sickly, and perishes. Branch after branch is assailed in turn, and the whole tree ultimately dies. It is easily destroyed on young trees, and older ones, if recently attacked, by brushing over the affected parts a mixture of equal parts of fish oil and rosin, melted together, and applied warm. The operation should be performed as early in the season as possible, or when the insect is first perceived.‡ In England, many trees have been greatly injured, and some destroyed by it. Although introduced into nurseries, in this country, it has hitherto proved of little injury, and if carefully watched, may probably be kept from spreading.—*Albany Cultivator.*

* In the West, the apple most esteemed is the Prior Red, of which Mr. Orr, nurseryman, near Louisville, says there are two varieties, the large and small.—*Editor's Journal.*

† The borer may be avoided, by washing the tree with strong lye, (one pound of potash to one gallon of water,) just after the egg is laid, in this latitude about the first of June.—*Editor's Journal.*

‡ If applied early, lime whitewash will destroy it effectually.

INSTINCT OF A SPIDER.

As a gentleman was laboring on one of the wharves, he observed a large spider on a chip floating on the water near the wharf. The tide was setting out of the harbor, and the wind blowing directly on shore. The spider having gone to one side of the chip and then to the other, found, after surveying his situation, his further retreat cut off, and placed himself in the centre of his frail bark. In a very short time, the tide had carried the chip with the spider, near to the corner spile of the wharf; and finding that the chip would soon drift beyond the spile, commenced, without loss of time, spinning a web. The threads of his web were fortunately blown by the wind against the spile, and firmly adhered to it. As soon as he had succeeded in this attempt, the spider pulled in the chip, and landed safely.

DRUMMOND LIGHT.—We see it stated that it is in contemplation, to light the hall of the House of Representatives, with the Drummond Light. This light is produced by the union of two jets of oxygen and hydrogen gas, upon a piece of unslacked calcined lime, in a state of combustion, and is said to possess an illuminating power equal to six hundred oil lights from the best Argand burners. The light can be sustained, without diminution, for twelve hours, and the cost of it is declared to be but one-fourth the cost of oil light.—*Richmond Compiler.*

GOOD REASONING.—"Please, sir, I don't think Mr. Dosem takes his physic regular," said a doctor's boy to his employer.

"Why so?"

"'Cause he's getting vell so precious fast!"

EXTRAORDINARY FACT.—A bellman of a seaport, not one hundred miles from Whitby, in announcing a teetotal meeting to be held in the Temperance Hall at that place, said that the meeting would be addressed by six women, "*who had never spoke before.*"

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of fifteen or twenty boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association.—The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*

BROUGHTON MEADOWS, Northampton, April 14, 1844.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(Second Edition.)

JUST Published, and for sale at this office, a new work on Capital Punishment. By Charles Spear. It contains a variety of thrilling and instructive anecdotes; also, all the capital offenses in every State in the Union; and a speech from O'Connell on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the *innocent*. Facts are drawn from history and observation, and the entire scripture ground has been examined. The work is embellished with a fine engraving. Price, 62 1-2 cents.

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Upright men shall be astonished at this, and the innocent shall stir up himself against the hypocrite.—*Job.* xvii. 8.

Abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men.—*Wm. Penn.*

NARRATIVE of the Proceedings of the Monthly Meeting of New-York, and their Subsequent Confirmation by the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, in the case of Isaac T. Hopper. Just published, and for sale at this office, No. 143 Nassau street, New-York; and at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadel.

FREE CALICOES!

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine shirting muslins; together with a large assortment of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail.

CHARLES WISE,
Northwest corner Arch and Fifth streets.
Philadelphia, 8th, mo. 17th 1843. tf.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE.

*No. 31, North